

HANS GULDBERG AXELSEN

THE SHERPAS IN THE SOLU DISTRICT

A Preliminary Report
on Ethnological Field Research
in the Solu District of North-Eastern Nepal

Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab
Historisk-filosofiske Meddelelser 47, 7



Kommissionær: Munksgaard

København 1977

DET KONGELIGE DANSKE VIDENSKABERNES SELSKAB udgiver følgende publikationsrækker:

THE ROYAL DANISH ACADEMY OF SCIENCES AND LETTERS issues the following series of publications:

	<i>Bibliographical Abbreviation</i>
Oversigt over Selskabets Virksomhed (8°) (<i>Annual in Danish</i>)	Overs. Dan. Vid. Selsk.
Historisk-filosofiske Meddelelser (8°)	Hist. Filos. Medd. Dan. Vid. Selsk.
Historisk-filosofiske Skrifter (4°) (<i>History, Philology, Philosophy, Archeology, Art History</i>)	Hist. Filos. Skr. Dan. Vid. Selsk.
Matematisk-fysiske Meddelelser (8°) (<i>Mathematics, Physics, Chemistry, Astronomy, Geology</i>)	Mat. Fys. Medd. Dan. Vid. Selsk.
Biologiske Skrifter (4°) (<i>Botany, Zoology, General Biology</i>)	Biol. Skr. Dan. Vid. Selsk.

Selskabets sekretariat og postadresse/*The address of the Academy is:*

*Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab,
Dantes Plads 5,
DK-1556 Copenhagen V.
Denmark.*

Selskabets kommissionær/*The publications are sold by the agent of the Academy:*

*MUNKSGAARD, Ltd.
6, Nørregade,
DK-1165 Copenhagen K.
Denmark.*

HANS GULDBERG AXELSEN

THE SHERPAS IN THE SOLU DISTRICT

A Preliminary Report
on Ethnological Field Research
in the Solu District of North-Eastern Nepal

Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab
Historisk-filosofiske Meddelelser 47, 7



Kommissionær: Munksgaard

København 1977

Contents

	Page
Introduction	5
Sketch-map of the area investigated in Solu	6
I. <i>The Sherpas and Monasteries in North-eastern Nepal</i>	10
1. Chortens and remains in the neighbourhood of Junbesi	12
2. Chortens and mani-walls in Yalung	15
3. Guersa – a ruined Sherpa village	16
II. <i>Religious structures in the Sherpa culture</i>	19
1. Mani-walls	23
2. The prayer-wheel	23
3. An old village temple in Yalung	25
4. Monasteries contra village temples	28
5. List of monasteries in north-eastern Nepal	30
III. <i>The Som-den-tho-ling monastery</i>	33
1. Inmates of Som-den-tho-ling	38
2. The internal organization of the monastery	41
3. Jhangri – a Sherpa shaman	46
IV. <i>Environment, patterns of settlement and types of house in Solu</i>	49
1. Types of house	51
2. Agriculture in Solu	54
3. Cattle-breeding	57
4. A development programme and ownership of land	59
5. Yer-chang – a summer festival	61
V. <i>Patterns of family life in Solu</i>	64
1. Kinship terms used by the Sherpas in Solu	67
<i>Addendum</i>	71

Synopsis

The intention of the present paper is to shed light on some problems of a remote society in *Himalaya*. As the study especially aims at people who profess the *lamaism* – in that case the *Sherpas* – the description mainly deals with a *lamaistic monastery*, its relations to the local society, and further religious structures to be found in the Sherpa-area. Finally some aspects are mentioned concerning the Sherpas' material culture.

Acknowledgements

First of all, I wish to express my gratitude to THE DANISH RESEARCH COUNCIL FOR THE HUMANITIES, who made a grant for this project.

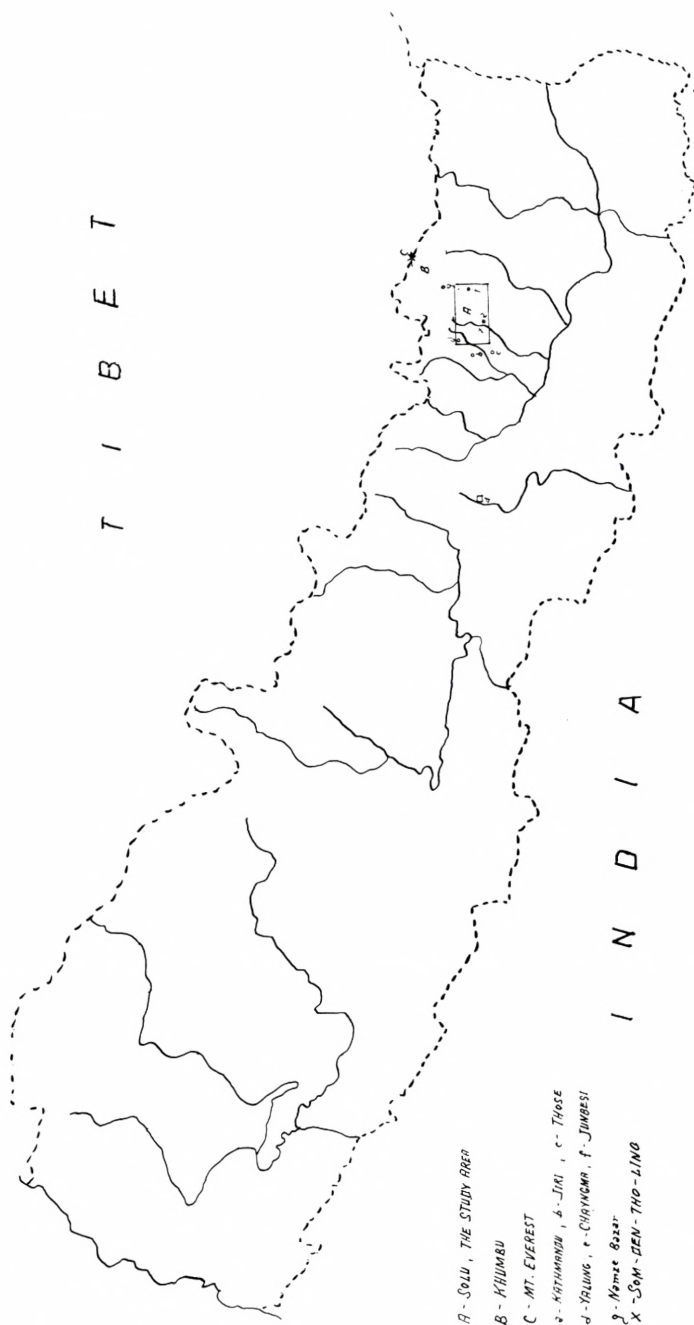
Next my warmest thanks are due to Professor Dr. Phil. Johannes Nicolaisen and to Dr. Phil. Erik Haarh for helping me during the preparation of the project. In addition, Dr. Haarh read the manuscript and suggested some corrections.

Among people in Nepal, I am greatly indebted to my interpreter and assistant, Mr. Antonio Parveen, for his ability in providing contacts to the local population and for his never failing interest in my work, often carried out in spite of hardship and deprivation.

I am deeply indebted to two Sherpas—the head lama Ngawang Serap, abbot of the monastery of Som-den-tho-ling, where I lived for more than three months, and to dairy-manager Passang Tshering Sherpa. Besides his hospitality, the head lama generously placed his knowledge of the local culture and Lamaist religion at my disposal. Mr. Passang and his wife spared no efforts in order to provide me and my interpreter with food and all kinds of practical help and advice.

Finally, I wish to express my warm thanks to the people I met in the investigation area during my stay in Eastern Nepal—for their hospitality and for their patience with my many questions.

During the preparation of the manuscript I received help from Mr. Ole Frydensberg, who made the sketches, and from Mrs. L. Krog Madsen, who made a fair copy of the manuscript. To both of them I express my gratitude.



Introduction

I left Copenhagen by air on September 10th, 1972, and arrived via Moscow and New Delhi in Kathmandu after a 13-hour flight.

After some difficulties, I obtained permission to stay in the Solu-Khumbu provinces in Eastern Nepal. While waiting, I took details of eleven workshops working after the traditional methods and also visited the Lamaist temples of Bodnath and Swayambhu outside Kathmandu. Moreover, I had a talk with Professor C. von Fürer Haimendorf, who gave me much advice for which I am very grateful.

I left Kathmandu on October 3rd having engaged an Indian student, Antonio Parveen, as my interpreter. He rendered excellent service to me during all my time in Nepal and India. I also took a Sherpa guide and three porters into my service. The first day we travelled by bus to Lamasango, a village on the China road. The next morning we set out on foot in order to find a monastery by the name of Bigu. After six days' march the Sherpa guide conceded that he was unable to find the monastery; maps of Nepal are very deficient. Consequently, I then decided to take up residence in the Som-den-tho-ling monastery situated in the Solu province, panchyat district of Thodung. We were cordially welcomed by the abbot Ngawang Sherap, who regretted the little comfort he could offer; he would like to build new guesthouses and make the monastery a centre of the Sherpa culture, but unfortunately he has no funds; development aid is not obtainable from the Government.

During the following two and a half months I observed the internal organization of this monastery. All adult monks and nuns answered a questionnaire containing 27 questions dealing with: 1. personal data, 2. family data, 3. economy. Special emphasis was laid on point 3 in an attempt to evaluate the monastery's position in the Sherpa economy. In addition, I tape-recorded fairy tales, folksongs, religious texts and music.

The methods I used for all my research consisted exclusively of observations, collecting of statistical data, interviews and conversations. In no case were paid assistants used for this work except for Mr. Parveen, who could finally manage the questionnaire by himself.

While staying in Thodung I visited as many villages as practicable in order to make a demographic map of the area under investigation; primarily, I intended to count the number of households belonging to the different castes and ethnic groups. The map resulting from the research is rather imperfect because I did not manage to visit all the villages and houses dispersed on remote and hardly accessible slopes. Neither do I have informations from all the places I visited. Official statistical material from the area in question is either scarce or non-existent.

Owing to the cold climate in the mountains we had to leave Thodung for some winter months. We left Jiri, a village situated 6–7 hour's walk from the monastery, by air on 20th December. From an air-strip at Jiri it is sometimes possible to reach Kathmandu by small plane.

In Kathmandu I intended to collect historical material from the old Lamaist temples, Bodhnath and Swayambhu, and to obtain information about monasticism in Tibet from the Tibetan refugees living in a camp outside Kathmandu. As the information obtainable from these sources was of doubtful value, I decided to go to India in order to visit the Buddhist holy places and gain first-hand knowledge about the architectural lay-out of the ruined monasteries there.

We left Nepal on 31st January, 1973, and during the following month we travelled about 1500 km through Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and West Bengal, visiting the following places: Khusinagar, Vaisali, Rajgir, Nalanda, Patna, Pataliputra, Gaya, Bodhgaya, Siliguri, and Darjeeling.

Due to the fact that my interpreter professed to the Sikh religion, we often lived without cost in Gurdwaras, i. e. lodging-houses run by the Sikh temples, for which I am very indebted to the Gurdwara officials in Patna, Rajgir and Siliguri. It was therefore possible for me to attend rituals performed in the Sikh temples and to gain some understanding of the Sikhs and their

religion. We returned to Kathmandu on 1st March, and three days later we set out for Thodung by air via Jiri.

Because of heavy snowfall, we had to stay in a dairy near Som-den-tho-ling for a week. This time I wished to study the monastery from the outside—to check the economic information given by the monks dealing with the monastery's rôle as an integral part of the Sherpa economy, the internal structure of Sherpa society, and relations between different castes. For this purpose I elaborated a questionnaire containing 65 questions divided up into the main sections: historical data, personal data, family organization, village organization, religion and economy.

During this part of the research we again lived in the monastery instead of in Dewrali where we had hoped to hire a house. When this had proved impossible, the abbot, hospitable as ever, put a room at our disposal. Dewrali, situated one hour's walk from the monastery, is inhabited by 20 high-caste Sherpa households—unlike Yalung, the next village studied, where all Sherpas were of low-caste (*yemba*) status.

Among the 20 households, I chose 6 families to answer the questionnaire, because they were economically representative of the village.

On 5th April my work in Dewrali was completed, and together with Parveen, a porter and a Sherpa boy, who accompanied me as a pupil, I travelled to Junbesi, a Sherpa village two days' walk to the north-east. The purpose of this journey was primarily to meet and discuss the history of the Sherpas with the learned Sanggye Tenzing Lama. At first we stayed in the Thup-den-tho-ling monastery near Junbesi. The monastery is evidence of the fact that the want and need for convent life is not dying out in Sherpa society. It was built by a lama who fled from Tibet in 1959. The buildings were erected by the local population, who offered their labour spontaneously and without payment, because they wished to have the abbot—a renowned incarnation—living in their midst in order to benefit from his holiness.

In addition to the many, very interesting and informative discussions with Sanggye Tenzing about the Sherpa immigration to the Solu-Khumbu area, I visited four apparently very old chortens, which indicate—in accordance with Sanggye Tenzing's

theory—that the Sherpas, and with them the Lamaist religion, came to the area far earlier than previously assumed.

In Junbesi I also heard some legends about the foundation of the village by the Sherpas, and attended a festival—Dumje—in the village temple.

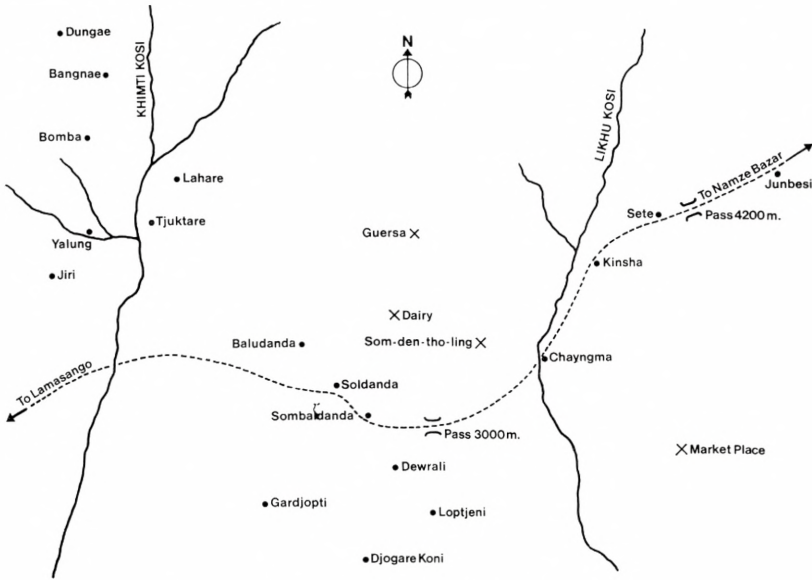
On 20th April we left Junbesi and three days later arrived at Yalung, a village situated six hours' walk from Som-den-tho-ling. Here the panchyat-leader, Limbaring Lama, and the schoolmaster put a room in the school at our disposal.

Yalung differs from Dewrali and Junbesi in regard to the pattern of settlement. The 123 houses of Yalung are scattered over a wide area—about 3×2 km—in contrast to the above-mentioned high-caste villages that are far more concentrated in nature. In Yalung all 107 Sherpa households are of low-caste (yemba) status, though they themselves state that they are high-caste. Nonetheless the high-caste Sherpas discriminate against them in almost the same way as they discriminate against Indian low-castes living in the Solu province. Besides the Sherpas, there are a further 16 households in Yalung: 6 Khami, 4 Chetri, 1 Domain and 5 Gurung, the last belonging to the Palaeo-Nepalese group, whereas the others descend from Indian peoples and, apart from the Chetri, are regarded all over Nepal as being of low-caste. The Sherpas have declined to yemba status partly because they have married non-Sherpas throughout generations, and partly because many of them probably descend from slaves—slavery was abolished in Nepal in 1926.

At Yalung I especially studied the relations between different castes, the agricultural conditions, and the function of the village temple. A questionnaire containing 35 questions dealing with these matters was answered by one or more households from all castes. Moreover, I recorded fairy-tales, folksongs and music, and took notes on numerous interviews concerning religion and rituals.

On 25th May we left Yalung and flew from Jiri to Kathmandu. From Kathmandu I travelled by bus and train to New Delhi, which I left for Copenhagen on 5th June 1973.

Sketch-map of the area investigated in Solu



The scale of the map is based on hours of walking.

Number of households belonging to different castes within the above area

	Sherpa	Chetri	Tamang	Newari	Gurung	Jiril	Khami	Domain
Dewrali	22							
Lopcheni					25			
Djogari Koni			39		1			
Chayngma	60	78			3			
Kinsha	4	6			9		3	
Junbesi	20						1	
Those		4			182			
Sombardanda		40						
Baludanda	8							
Soldanda					8			
Chuktare			25		20			
Jiri	28					18		
Yalung	107	4			5		6	1
Sete	14							
Total:	263	132	64	248	5	18	10	1

Though this survey does not comprise all the villages and houses situated on remote slopes, I think that it quite accurately reflects the composition of ethnic groups and castes in the area.

I. The Sherpas and Monasteries in North-Eastern Nepal

When studying Sherpa culture the question arises: "From where and when did the Sherpas come, did they carry the Lamaist faith to Nepal, and when and why were the monasteries founded?"

All the Sherpas I met were asked the question, "From where and when did the Sherpas come to Nepal?" Many answered—as Ngawang Sherap always did when I asked him historical questions—"It happened before I was born—I don't know." About 40–45 persons replied to my questions. History, however, was the only part of my work in which the Sherpas showed some understanding and interest. According to C. von Fürer Haimendorf (*The Sherpas of Nepal*. Oxford 1964, p. 18), the Sherpas immigrated to Solu-Khumbu from some place in Tibet. At first they settled in Khumbu and later in Solu. It can hardly be doubted that the Sherpas—or more correctly Shar-pas (literally 'Eastern People')—came from Tibet because their language, physical appearance, religion, dress, and way of life clearly refer to Tibet. The emigration of the Sherpas from Tibet might be connected with the struggle for power at the time that the dGe-lugs-pa sect took over power under the Fifth Dalai Lama A.D. 1640–1680. Because of the suppression of other Lamaist sects, the Sherpas, who professed to the Nying-ma-pa school, fled to their present homeland.

As far as I know, old, written records dealing with the history of the Sherpas do not exist; their history relies entirely on oral traditions. Ngawang Sherap told me that many years ago his father possessed a very old book dealing with the past of the Sherpas, but unfortunately the book had disappeared. I received the same kind of information from three other Sherpas, but when I checked it, it proved that they possessed no books at all. Nearly all my informants asserted that their ancestors came to Solu seven

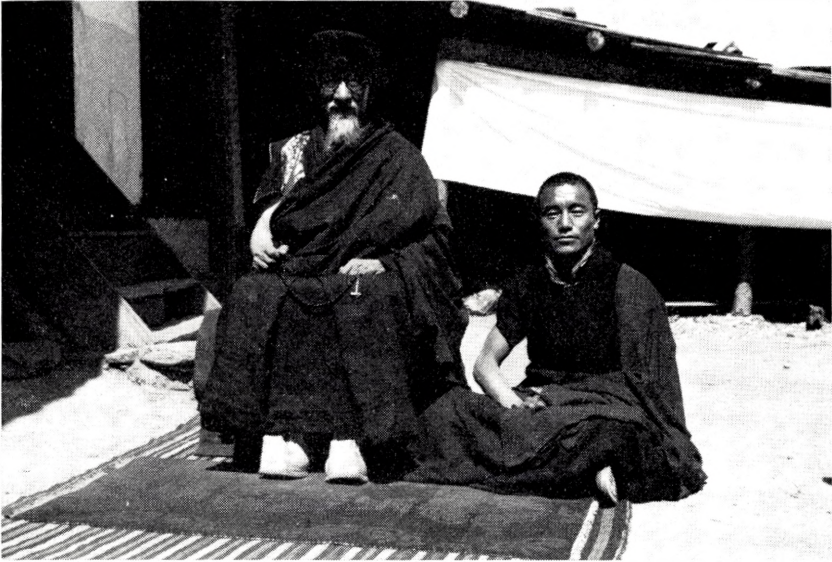


Fig. 1. To the left Ingrik Dorje – a famous incarnation who fled from Tibet in 1959. He is known as a magician and a great poet, who has written about 3000 sonnets and 80 poems. Seated his pupil Ngawang Sherap – abbot of the monastery of Som-den-tho-ling.

generations ago—some said thirteen. According to Sherpa traditions, one generation comprises son, father, and grandfather, equal to about one hundred years.

Sanggye Tenzing Lama, the first Sherpa to seriously study and edit a book about the history of his people, is certain that the Sherpas—he emphasizes the spelling Shar-pa—came from Eastern Tibet more than seven hundred years ago. As reason for his assertion he calls attention to the devastation by Genghis Khan and the Mongols about A.D. 1202. From Tibetan sources we know about the Mongol invasion, characterized by a contemporary writer with the words: “only the dead were happy.”

Sanggye Tenzing Lama asserts that the term Shar-pa refers to Eastern Tibet and not to Solu-Khumbu, situated to the southeast of Central Tibet. Furthermore he points out that the dialect spoken by the Sherpas is very similar to a dialect common in Eastern Tibet, where he spent many years. I am not able to check this information—but it corresponds to all other statements I heard in Solu.

Irrespective of when the Sherpas came to Solu-Khumbu, I think it most credible that they introduced Lamaism and monasticism into this area. This does not imply that monasteries were built at the same time, actually they seem to be a rather late phenomenon in Solu-Khumbu. According to Ngawang Sherap, the monastery Ten-bosche in Khumbu is the oldest Sherpa monastery, founded only about one hundred years ago. Monasteries are not absolutely necessary to Lamaism, they are an aim, but a precondition for their existence is an economic surplus that permits some individuals to be exempt from the fundamental demands for food production. According to Furer Haimendorf, this surplus came into being when potatoes were introduced to Solu-Khumbu about one hundred years ago. I do not believe that these areas are by nature poorer than those of Tibet proper. The late establishment of the monasteries is probably due to the fact that Sherpas with monastic inclinations went to Nying-ma-pa monasteries in nearby Tibet. Even today nearly all older monks have received their training in Tibet, only after 1959 was the bond severed with Tibetan monasticism.

From an archaeological point of view the Himalayan area is almost unknown, as also its written sources. What can then motivate an assertion aiming to prove an earlier Sherpa immigration than generally assumed?

In the following I therefore give an account of two religious remains and one ruined Sherpa village. In spite of some training in archaeological investigation, it was impossible for me to establish a certain date for the remains—my search for datable objects proved fruitless. All kinds of objects within the Buddhist-Lamaist cultural area—religious as well as secular—as, for example, architecture, statues and paintings, are very difficult to date because their style has changed so little through the centuries.

1. Chortens and Remains in the Neighbourhood of Junbesi

According to Sherpa traditions, Junbesi was founded by three lamas who came down from Tibet. The area was earlier occupied by an ethnic group named Rai, one of the Palaeo-Nepalese

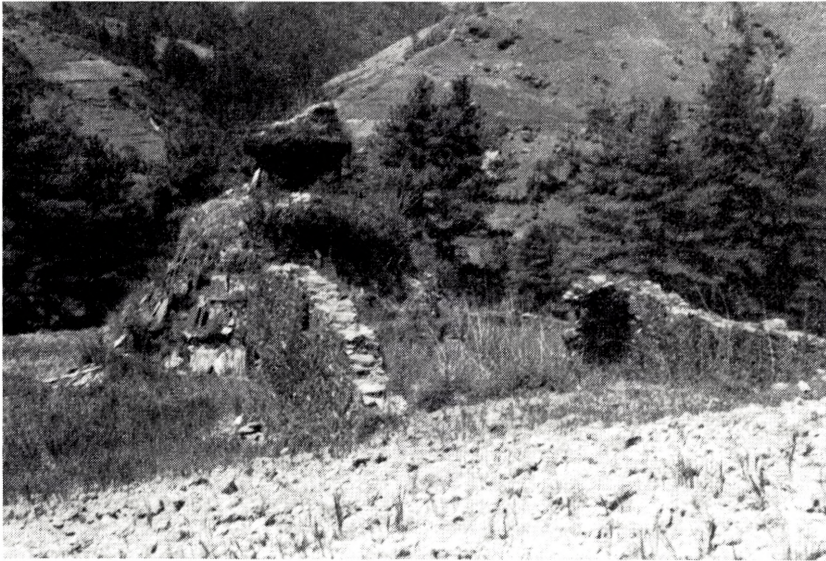


Fig. 2. Old chorten in the neighbourhood of Junbesi. It is of an exceptional type, more similar to the original Indian garbha than to the common Tibetan type.

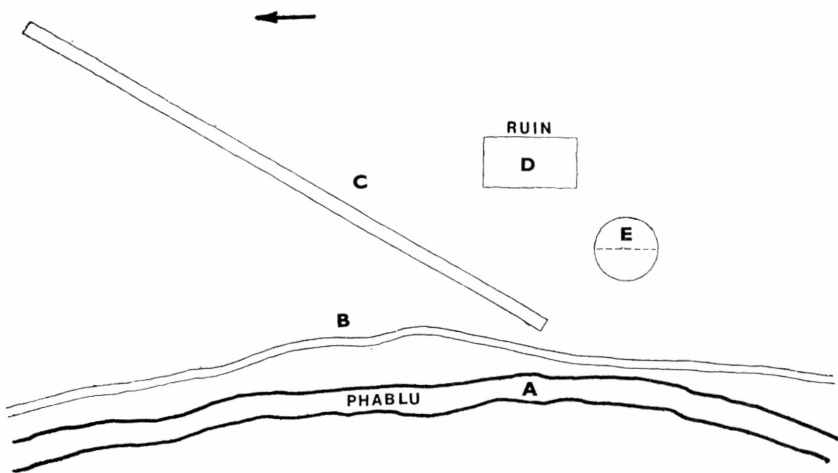


Fig 3. Ground-plan of the chorten and the other remains.
 A – Phablu river, B – Path leading to Junbesi and Salleri, C – Wall which perhaps encircled the whole area in the past, D – Remains of a building, E – Chorten of old Buddhist type.

peoples who presently live in the Kosi basin and Eastern Terai. The Rais, who at that time professed to a "nature religion", converted partly to Lamaism, and due to religious devotion offered all their cultivated land to the lamas, whom they regarded as gods. Deprived of the means to make a living, they had to leave the area. The lamas, who established the Sherpas' position of power, built the first village temple (gompa) in Junbesi. One of these lamas is buried in a chorten situated on the outskirts of the village.

In the past Junbesi was—and still is partly—a religious centre of Sherpa Lamaism. In its vicinity I counted thirty inscriptions on large stones and rocks, all with the common prayer "Om mani padme hum". Inside or near the village there are seven chortens and six mani-walls, totalling a length of about 500 m, composed of innumerable mani-stones with incised letters and pictures. Inside the village are two gompas, but one of them is now used for secular purposes. In the neighbourhood are two monasteries—Se-ta with twelve nuns, built fourteen years ago, and Tup-den-tho-ling, housing thirty monks and about one hundred nuns, built only six years ago.

Most interesting of the religious edifices are some remains situated half an hour's walk from Junbesi. These remains stand on a slope near the path leading from Junbesi to Salleri. The path, following the river Phablu Kosi, must have been in use since time immemorial, which is testified by the several inch deep wear marks on the stones and rocks constituting the track. The remains comprise a chorten about 10 m high and 6 m in diameter made of large stones, now partly covered by earth, grass and scrub. The chorten does not have the traditional appearance of those built later, and the stones are piled up without the use of clay. It is rougher in shape and construction, the stones have apparently never been covered by a layer of clay as is normal for chortens in the Sherpa area.

In my opinion, a building located east of the chorten might be a prayer-hall or a gompa—only it appears too small in comparison with the chorten. A ninety meter long wall standing on the slope below these structures is certainly not a mani-wall. It does not include one single mani-stone, and it is inconceivable

that the mani-stones have been removed because of the respect shown by the Sherpas for their holy places.

The villagers knew nothing of the buildings—not when they were built or fell into disuse, or why they were built in a solitary spot, far from the village, all they knew was that, “they are very, very old”.

Many inscriptions on the mani-stones in the Solu area are nearly worn away by weather and wind. In a discussion concerning the introduction of Lamaism and the Sherpa immigration to Solu, it is essential to answer the question: “How long can signs engraved at a depth of 5–6 mm on stones resist erosion?”

Some few hundred meters to the north the remains of six small chortens are found. They are almost totally ruined and entirely overgrown by scrub and trees.

2. Chortens and Mani-Walls in Yalung

The chortens and mani-walls in Yalung are much more elaborate and better preserved than those near Junbesi. The buildings are situated at the bottom of a beautiful valley, standing on a triangular, elevated strip of land delimited by two streams from the mountains that run into one about one hundred meters below the site. This river then empties into the Khimti Kosi river a further three miles to the south.

Once a year the place is used for the Dumje, a dance-festival lasting for three days that is performed in February on behalf of all society in order to secure fertility during the following year.

According to the village lama, Limbaring Lama, the buildings were constructed 700 years ago. Three lamas were buried in the chorten—Rindje Tille, Kosang Tille, and Bogeli. Limbaring Lama did not know whether they had founded the village. Some of the the buildings were damaged by an earthquake 56 years ago.

Limbaring Lama told me that his grandfather had possessed a book dealing with his lineage throughout nine generations—equal to nine hundred years—but because it was ragged and almost illegible, his grandfather had thrown it away.

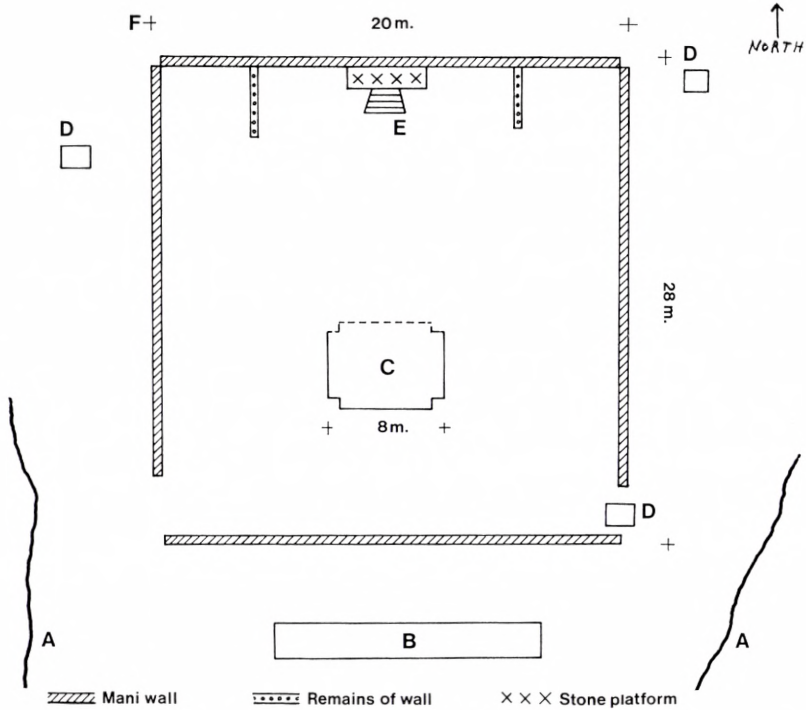


Fig. 4. Ground-plan of the remains in Yalung.
 A – River. B – School. C – Chorten of old Sherpa type. D – Remains of small chortens. E – Steps leading to a stone-platform. F – Remains of an edifice of the same type as the large ones. The mani-walls contain 267 mani-stones in all.

3. Guersa – A Ruined Sherpa Village

Guersa is situated about five hours' walk to the north of Som-den-tho-ling, at an elevation of roughly 4500 m above sea level. The path up there runs through dense forests, mainly consisting of 15–20 m high rhododendron trees. Scattered in the forest are small meadows, which are dried-up lakes and now fertile pastures for cows or dzums, a cross-breed derived from yak bulls and a type of Nepalese cow. The Sherpas move to these highland pastures in April.

Approaching the peak, the vegetation decreases in size, being bent by the wind and totally covered with a thick layer of moss. The temperature drops, the sun is hidden by clouds and mist, and sometimes hail sweeps across the peak. The ruined village



Fig. 5. A cult-place outside the village of Yalung. It certainly dates from the time of the Sherpa settlement in their present homeland, 400–700 years ago.

is situated on a slope, covering an area of about 15–20 acres. The size is difficult to estimate because of the very dense vegetation, which mainly consists of coniferous trees, but also because of the mist. Fortunately, my guide—a Sherpa boy—knew the place very well. Since infancy he had spent every summer near Guersa together with his parents who own highland pasture in the neighbourhood.

The ruined houses are spread around, apparently without any system, just like a high-caste Sherpa village today. The fields that normally surround Sherpa houses cannot be traced on the surface today. I counted 27 ruins, varying in size from 4×5 to 5×10 m—the largest obviously being a gompa. Some of the ruins were almost level with the ground, others still had walls of full height. No remnants of roofs, no objects made of wood, or any kinds of utensils and implements, were to be found. The ruins were covered by a 15–20 cm thick layer of moss, and inside the houses grew full-grown trees, which I estimated to be about 150 years of age, although they might actually be older because trees grow very slowly there due to the cold, windy climate. The construction of the walls is of typical Tibetan-Sherpa style. They are made from

piled, flat stones, contrary to the techniques of other ethnic groups in Nepal, who mainly make clay walls.

On the outskirts of the village the remains of a chorten stand on the top of a 20 m high rock, which is still today draped with prayer-flags. About 500 m outside the village there are the remains of a large chorten.

The houses certainly served as permanent habitation, and are not to be confused with huts such as those that the Sherpas now use when staying on the summer pastures. From the solidly built houses and the size of the village (a Sherpa informant asserted that he had counted 40 houses), it is credible that the place was occupied for generations, but only an archaeological investigation would be able to answer this question. The size of the trees standing inside the ruined houses indicates that the village was deserted more than 150 years ago—but why? Maybe because the Sherpas forced other ethnic groups out of the valleys, which offered them better conditions for farming and grazing. One of my best Sherpa informants told me that he had heard from his grandfather that all the inhabitants of Guersa had died as a result of an epidemic many years ago.

II. Religious Structures in the Sherpa Culture

In addition to the monasteries there are other monumental structures relating to the Lamaist religion: chortens, mani-walls, prayer-wheels, and village temples.

Chortens (in Tibetan mChod-rten, literally "basis for offering"): In the Sherpa culture area there are several hundred chortens, some very large and elaborate structures, others of a more modest size and ornamentation. The largest chortens are to be seen in the villages, near the monasteries and village temples, often placed in connection with a gateway. Chortens are nearly always erected as part of mani-walls, which are spread all over the Sherpa area, along paths, on peaks, in passes and at cremation-places. Sometimes chortens are situated in isolated places without connection with named localities; perhaps these are memorials to holy men, once living on the spot, or they may be the only visible remains of temples or villages now destroyed by erosion.

A chorten is a solid, conical masonry structure, built of stones and clay. Two types are common in Solu—one is the Tibetan type that is certainly of recent date and generally erected in connection with a monastery (fig. 9). The other is the most common type and may surely be dated back to the earliest Buddhism, which, according to legends, was introduced to the Kathmandu valley during the third century B.C. (fig. 8).

During my travels in Solu I saw two chortens that did not resemble these two types. One, near Junbesi (fig. 10), directs our attention to the typical Newari roof construction. At first I took the old chorten to be evidence of an early Sherpa immigration, but it may be older and originally have belonged to a non-Sherpa culture, erected by people occupying the area before the Sherpas arrived—probably the Rais. If so, the Sherpas'



Fig. 6. Mani-walls are to be found by the thousand all over the Sherpa area. To the right, a stone-bench on which porters can place their loads. Such benches are to be seen every few miles along all paths.

predecessors did not practice nature worship, as previously assumed, but were Buddhists like the people of the Kathmandu valley.

The fourth type of chorten I saw was situated in front of the Tamang village temple in Djo-gare-koni (fig. 11); its style suggests a relationship with Hinduist India.

The chorten does not have its origin in the Lamaist cultural area, but in India, and it may go back to the pre-Buddhist folk-religion. The original form of the chorten, in India named stupa, is a massive hemisphere or solid dome (garbha - literally "womb") (fig. 7). The garbha must be considered the prototype of all stupas and chortens, and it developed later within different Buddhist cultures according to their own special sense of form. The name garbha, "womb" indicates its fundamental function, namely that of containing the mortal remains of holy men—legend relates that Buddha's ashes were divided into eight portions and buried in eight stupas. In more recent times, esteemed lamas are in some cases actually buried in chortens. Nevertheless, the

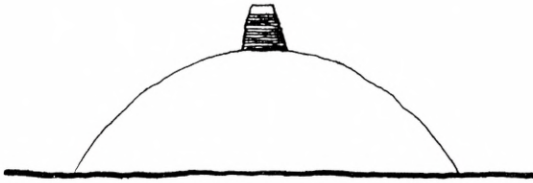


Fig. 7. The original form of a chorten or burial mound (garbha).

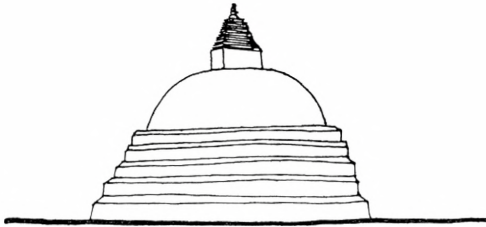


Fig. 8. Old type of chorten which has retained the form of the garbha.

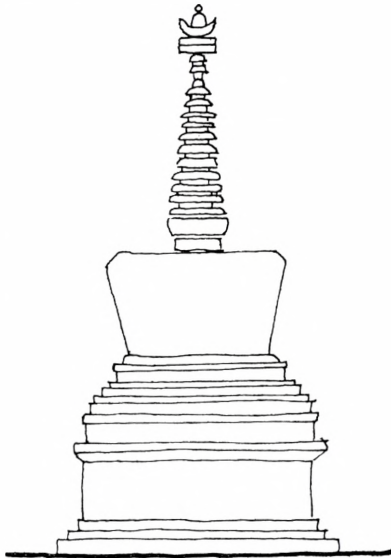


Fig. 9. The full-grown Tibetan type, which represents the Lamaistic universe in symbolic form.

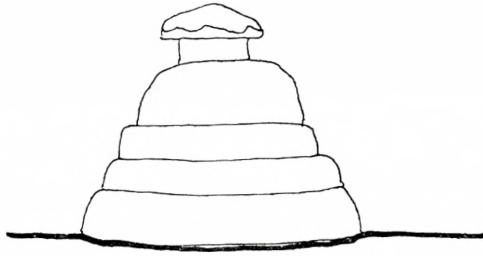


Fig. 10. The chorten near Junbesi which is partly covered in earth.

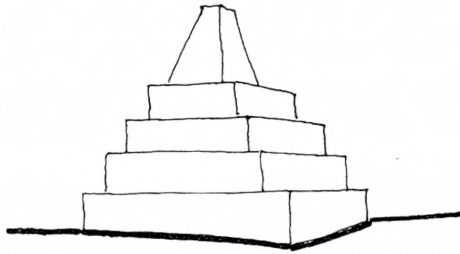


Fig. 11. Diverging type placed in front of a Tamang monastery in Djogare Koni.

chortens are primarily regarded as a symbol of the presence of Buddha himself.

The origin of stupa worship is obscure. We can only guess that Buddhism perhaps inherited it from some practice of an older folk religion. We only know that from the earliest days of Buddhism it was invested with a sacramental character, which was later given canonical confirmation and thus became one of the fundamental institutions of Buddhism. Stupa worship spread along with Buddhism to Solu via Tibet; maybe also from the Kathmandu valley, as indicated by the old stupa near Junbesi.

Among the Sherpas, chorten worship consists of circumambulating the chorten (the same applies to monasteries and village temples) and decorating it with prayer-flags. Chortens and all other religious objects are always circumambulated clockwise according to the ancient custom of showing respect. In the same way, prayer-wheels must always be turned in this direction. I have never seen a Sherpa offend this precept.

1. Mani-walls

(Tibetan, Mani-gDong) are innumerable in the Solu-Khumbu provinces. They are long, wall-like erections, often several hundred meters in length. If situated along a path they are divided into two lateral halves in order to allow them to be passed respectfully. Mani-walls are made from flat stones about $1 \times \frac{1}{2}$ m in size, engraved with the common Tibetan prayer "Om mani padme hum" and sometimes also with god-images taken from the Lamaist pantheon. The making of these walls is in no way obsolete in Solu, many Sherpas actually donate money for the erection of mani-walls or for keeping old ones in good repair.

Nothing is known about the origin of the worshipping of mani- or prayer-walls. It may have grown out of a pre-Buddhist practice of stone worship.

2. The Prayer-Wheel

(Tibetan, Mani-Chos-'khor, Mani-religion-wheel): like mani-walls and chortens, this is intended to verbalize religious devotion. It has the form of a cylinder and may vary in size from not more than a few cm in each dimension to about 3×4 m. Inside it is packed with rolls of paper or cloth upon which prayers and formulas are written or printed as closely as possibly. The most common one is the six-syllable mantra "Om mani padme hum". The large prayer-wheels are set up in monasteries, village temples, and in the galleries that are often built along paths around monasteries and holy places. The Sherpas never miss an opportunity of turning a prayer-wheel. In the monastery I have often observed men and women sitting in the prayer-wheel house turning the wheel; after a while they quietly leave the house. The small portable prayer-wheels are mounted on handles which are an elongation of the pivot. All adult Sherpas own a prayer-wheel and they are frequently in use.

The prayer-wheel is restricted to the Lamaist culture area. Its origin is unknown. Perhaps it is a Tibetan invention, introduced as a result of the Lamaists' special regard for the holy word, since it gives illiterates a chance to benefit from faith in accordance

with the principles of the Mahayana school. It is based on the belief that written and printed words in themselves have special power. It is unnecessary to read the writing, the whirling of the prayer-wheel with its written prayers makes the prayers effective. The same belief causes people to turn the large prayer-wheels and hang up prayer-flags, which may be seen waving from all Sherpa houses and all manner of holy places. I often asked the Sherpas what was in their minds when they turned a prayer-wheel or circumambulated a holy place. Two replies were characteristic: "It yields religious merit and a better rebirth", or "So we have learnt from our ancestors".

Turning the prayer-wheel and circumambulation are closely linked to the concept that the origin of Buddhism, which was brought about by Buddha and continued by all the great Buddhist teachers, was metaphorically characterized as "turning the wheel of the La". The wheel is the holy sign of Buddhism and, corresponding to the cross of Christianity, the most commonly used sign in Buddhist art.

In my opinion, the wheel in Buddhism is considered holy as a result of its resemblance to the universe, to time and to the life cycle. The universe turns from one Buddhist era to another, time is considered a circle. Whereas in Western conception time is considered as a line, life from cradle to grave—from one rebirth to another—makes a circle. The essence of Buddhism is to teach a way of making it possible to escape the rebirths, "the wheel of life".

It is interesting to note that the wheel—the holy sign—was not employed for mundane purposes until the present time. Although most of the Lamaist culture area is suited to the use of wheeled transport, and although wheeled vehicles have been in use in the advanced cultures of India and China for at least 4000 years, the invention was never taken into use here. The same applies to the Kathmandu valley, which is admirably suited for wheeled transport. Even today the Nepalese carry loads on their backs—walking on asphalted roads, only competing with a few trucks.

In the book "Religious Observances in Tibet, Patterns and Function", Chicago 1964, p. 121, Robert B. Ekvall records "the idea of a wheel's being rolled on the ground and sat upon has

overtones of desecration and is avoided. In the borderland between China and Tibet, where frequently the population on one side of a fordable stream is Chinese and on the other bank Tibetan, the difference is striking. The terrain, crops, and basis subsistence economy on both banks are the same, even the live-stocks are the same. But on the Chinese side, the mDzo (hybrid of yak and cow) or yak pulls two-wheeled wooden carts in all the operations of farming and lumbering, while on the Tibetan side of the stream everything is packed on the backs of the animals,—although such a technique is obviously wasteful of both man and ox power.”

Of course, it may be argued that the wheel has been used for transportation since time immemorial in other Buddhist countries—according to archaeological discoveries for at least 4000 years. Here it must be remembered that the wheel was an old article in everyday use, and that it had been integrated into agricultural economy some 1500 years before the time of Buddha (550–483 B.C.). Certainly there were contacts between China and Tibet, and maybe between India and the Kathmandu valley, in the pre-Buddhist era. The failure of the Himalayans to take over the use of the wheel may be due to the fact that they are a mountain people, who have always been in opposition to the plain-dwellers. When Buddhism was introduced to the Himalayas from about A.D. 650, the avoidance of the use of the wheel for secular purposes was given canonical confirmation. This example is a proof of the rôle played by religion even in the practical sides of life.

3. An Old Village Temple in Yalung

In Yalung there are two village temples (Tibetan, Mani-lha-khang), one old and one new. They stand on a slope facing south. This slope constitutes the northern end of the valley, on the bottom and slopes of which the village is dispersed. The two temples are situated only a few hundred meters distance from one another. They are built and owned by a family belonging to the Lama clan that claims to be of high-caste status. The Lama family, like all other Sherpas in Yalung, are considered by outsiders to be of

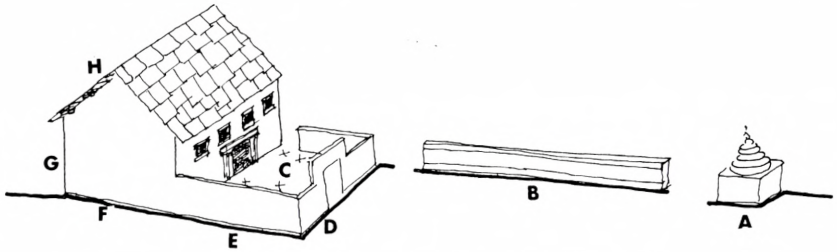


Fig. 12. The old village temple in Yalung.

A. Old chorten, dia. 2 m, height 1 m.

B. Mani-wall, length 18 m, height 1 m.

C. Courtyard.

D. Wall, length 9 m, height 1 m.

E. Wall, length 5 m, height 1 m.

F. G. H. The temple, dimensions $9 \times 6 \times 9$ m.

× Poles for prayer-flags.

low-caste (yemba) status. The newest and largest temple was built 80 years ago by the grandfather of the present village lama Limbaring Lama, who now runs the temple.

The older, and much more interesting temple is run by Limbaring's younger brother Pema Lama. Both brothers have spent some time in monasteries in Tibet; Limbaring, 11 years, and Pema, 2 months. Limbaring Lama asserted that the father had possessed a lineage book—since vanished—that proved his allegations. Nevertheless, I am convinced that the present building is not 9 generations—equal to 900 years—old. It is a typical Sherpa house, in contrast to all other Sherpa houses in Yalung, which are of mixed architecture.

The temple has two floors, but only the first is in use. From the courtyard two steps lead to the entrance, opposite which stands a more than three meters high statue, named Tute-chempo. It is placed on a one meter high base, to the top of which lead four steps, making the altar. The statue rises about one meter above the ceiling through a hole. It is made of clay, painted in brilliant colours, and has four pairs of arms and three heads above one another, each of them having four faces. In appearance it resembles the Hindu god Brahma. On the steps leading up to the statue stand six brass bowls filled with water and twelve butter-lamps. On shelves on both sides of the large statue are placed 22 painted

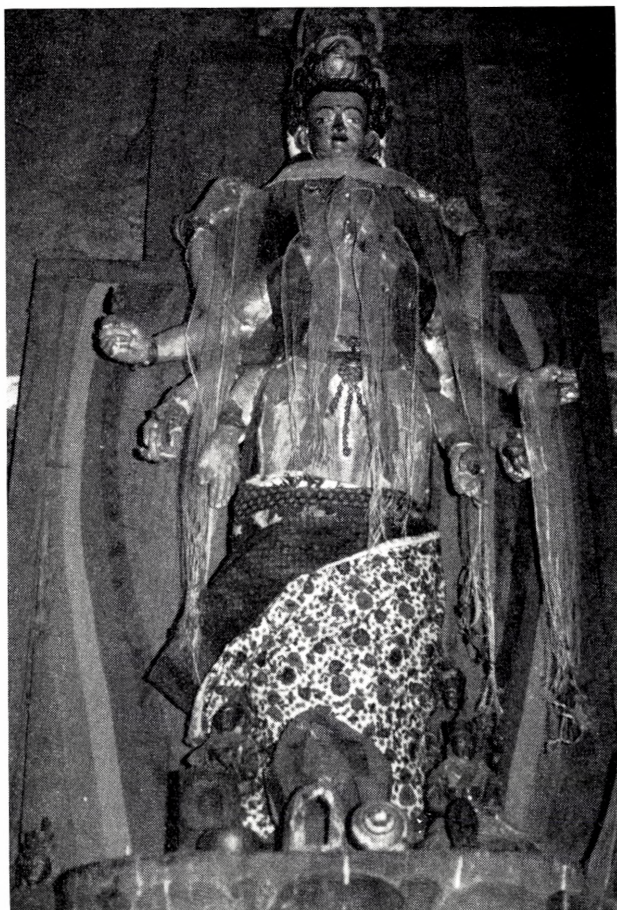


Fig. 13. Tute-chempo, a 3 m high statue in the village gumpa in Yalung.

clay statuettes, varying from 20 to 80 cm in height. Some of the statuettes are 80 years old, while the large statue and some of the small statuettes are several hundred years old according to Limbaring Lama. Some of the small statuettes are of high artistic standard and of very expressive appearance—the best I saw in Solu.

Along the eastern wall are four big dance-masks, an old sword and two old shields made from yak-hide. The objects are used during festivals performed in the temple or down in the valley

near the old chorten. From the ceiling hangs a drum, 60 cm in diameter, fastened by a rope. On two low benches, standing at right angles to the altar, lie religious objects such as a dorje, bell and prayerbooks. The ceiling is supported by two painted pillars, and the floor is made from roughly hewn planks. The walls are covered by panels, painted with gods and demons of the Lamaist pantheon. They are of Indian rather than Tibetan style. Outside the temple there is a mani-wall and a chorten, which looks very old.

4. Monasteries Contra Village Temples

In any discussion concerning the monasteries I think it is essential to distinguish between the monks living in the monasteries and the non-organized religious practitioners, the village lamas and jhangris.

From a functional point of view, it is difficult to distinguish one from the other, because in the services rendered to the community they overlap each other in many cases. In the following I intend to define a monk or a nun as "a person who has taken the monastic vows, intends to live in a monastery for his lifetime, practices celibacy, has started as a novice and aims to be a fully initiated monk or nun, is associated with and mainly lives in a monastery and observes its rules".

Monks and monasticism are of rather recent date in the Sherpa culture. When the Sherpas immigrated to Solu, they certainly professed to the Lamaist faith. Within the Nying-ma-pa sect, founded by the famous tantric master Padma Sambhava in the eighth century, monasticism was not organized on the same ascetic principles as in the dGe-lugs-pa sect founded by bTsong-kha-pa (A.D. 1357–1419). Certainly, bTsong-kha-pa's reform never influenced the principles on which the priesthood in Solu-Khumbu was organized.

All the villages of any size that I visited in Solu had a village temple—or gompa. Their distribution, age and integration in Sherpa society prove that they developed within Sherpa society itself. According to the services they render, the way in which their priests or lamas live and carry out their functions points back to the pre-Buddhist Bon-po religion, although the Sherpas



Fig. 14. Village lamas playing the giant trumpet, drum and cymbal during the dumje festival in Junbesi.

officially belong to the Nying-ma-pa sect. The Bon-po was prevalent in Tibet up to about A.D. 650, and was even found in some places in Eastern Tibet up to the present time.

From an analytical point of view, it is a mistake to associate the monastery with the village temple. They are based on quite different ideologies and principles of organization. Furthermore they aim at different goals.

The function of a village lama is to serve society, perform the rituals necessary for everyday life, ensure fertility, manage the gods and demons, cure illnesses and take care of the rites that are intended to strengthen the social solidarity of society. Besides being a religious practitioner, the village lama is a member of lay society. He may marry, till his fields and dress in the same manner as his fellow villagers. A village lama has no special education, but he must be able to read the holy books written in Tibetan. It is not necessary for him to understand what he reads—which he rarely does actually—and there is absolutely no need to explain or interpret the texts. The words are a power in themselves. All the village lamas who I met had spent some time in a monastery, but none of them were fully initiated monks—dGe-slong.

Although we do not know whether Sherpa monasticism was developed within Sherpa society or uncritically taken over from a Tibetan prototype, I do not doubt that the mind of the Sherpa is open to monasticism and monkhood. Of course, the Tibetan monks and the apparently rather rich incarnations, who fled from Tibet in 1959, have induced the foundation of new monasteries and had much influence through their sophisticated norms, values and monastic way of life. For example, the monasteries of Shoar and Tup-den-tho-ling are founded and run by two highly esteemed Tibetan incarnations. Their success may be evaluated from the fact that Tup-den-tho-ling, though founded only seven years ago, is now the largest monastery in Solu-Khumbu, inhabited by 130 monks and nuns. Many years ago the abbot in Som-den-tho-ling had the famous lama Inrik as his teacher. A few years ago the lama founded the Shoar monastery, and doubtless he has much influence on the way in which Som-den-tho-ling is managed.

The considerable number of novices in Som-den-tho-ling, in all 15–18 young boys, is evidence of the fact that monasticism is making progress, and it is especially important to note that they come mainly from prosperous Sherpa families—the yemba, however, are not allowed to enter the monastery. Though monasteries are a new phenomenon in Sherpa culture and motivated from Tibet, they are in no conflict with lay society or the village lamas. They both co-operate and compete on the same matters. There may be a tendency to consider the monks as possessing greater learning and ability.

5. List of Monasteries in North-Eastern Nepal

As far as I know, there is no detailed map of Lamaist monasteries in North-Eastern Nepal. The following list is not exhaustive; it includes the monasteries I visited myself: Som-den-tho-ling, Seta, Tup-den-tho-ling and Djo-gara-koni. With respect to the other monasteries, my information was received from the abbot and monks of Som-den-tho-ling.

1. *Teng-bo-che*, certainly the oldest monastery in North-Eastern Nepal, founded 80–100 years ago near Namze Bazar and inhabited by 35–40 monks. The fact that the Sherpas them-

selves do not know precisely when their first monastery was founded shows their lack of interest in chronology.

2. *Dewo-che*, a monastery for nuns, founded in 1930 near Namze Bazar, 20 nuns.
3. *Thami*, founded about the same time as Teng-bo-che, situated one day's walk to the west of Namze Bazar.
4. *Tun-tup-den-tho-ling*, situated one day's walk to the north of Junbesi.
5. *Tup-den-tho-ling*, one hour's walk from Junbesi, founded seven years ago by an incarnate lama who fled from Tibet in 1959. Inhabited by 30 monks and 100 nuns.
6. *Jiwong*, near the village of Phablu, three days' walk to the south-east of Junbesi.
7. *Trak-sin-do*, two days' walk to the north-east of Junbesi.
8. *Seta*, one hour's walk from Junbesi, founded 14 years ago by its present abbot, Sanggye Tenzing Lama; inhabited by 12 monks.
9. *Som-den-tho-ling*, see p. 33.
10. *Kil-khor-din*.
11. *Bekum* or *Bium*, only for nuns.
12. *Djo-gare-koni*.
13. *Shi-ling-kur-ka*, 40 monks and nuns.
14. *Biku*, a Tamang monastery, two days' walk to the east of Barabise.
15. *Pike*, one day's walk to the east of Som-den-tho-ling, more than 4000 meters above sea-level; 10 monks.
16. *Goli*, near Kinsha, about 20 monks and nuns.
17. *Shoar*, founded 1965 by Chang-chup Owangbo Ham Longtzin Yeshe Dorje, an esteemed incarnation and poet, who fled from Tibet in 1959. Inhabited by about 20 Tibetan monks and nuns.

The list only includes monasteries in North-Eastern Nepal, the Solu-Khumbu provinces, and I wish to emphasize its incompleteness. In the neighbourhood of Kathmandu there are at least four Lamaist monasteries, primarily the two largest ones—Swayambhu and Bodhnath. Four Lamaist sects are represented in these two, each sect having their own richly embellished gumpa. Swayambhu and Bodhnath were certainly founded as Buddhist

temples, but it is not known when they were built or taken over by Lamaists. One of the abbots in Bodhnath asserted that the temple was erected in its present form 4500 years ago—he did not know that Buddha lived only about 2500 years ago.

From the list it may be estimated that there are 500–600 monks and nuns in North-Eastern Nepal. Besides the monks and nuns living in the monasteries, there are a considerable number of village lamas and even nuns having no connection with the monasteries. In most cases the village lamas have spent some years in a monastery without taking the monastic vows or obtaining the dGe-slong degree, i.e. that of a fully initiated monk. The same applies to the nuns.

Finally, the Lamaist clergy in North-Eastern Nepal comprises a number of Tibetan monks and nuns who fled from Tibet in 1959. They have apparently been absorbed into the Sherpa clergy without difficulties, many are living permanently in monasteries, mainly in those founded by Tibetan incarnations, while others serve as village lamas or move from one monastery to another.

My experience seems to show that the clergy living outside the monasteries outnumber those inside.

The Sherpa population in the Solu-Khumbu provinces amounts to about 10000 (J. Trier, *Ancient Paper of Nepal*. Copenhagen 1970, p. 23). Roughly estimated, the clergy number 1200–1500 and of these less than half live permanently in monasteries as members of an organized congregation.

III. The Som-den-tho-ling Monastery

Som-den-tho-ling is a typical Sherpa monastery, built on a peak 3100 m above sea-level. It is situated in the Solu province, panchyat district of Thodung, six days' walk from Lamasango—a village on the China road 30 km from the Tibetan border. The China road, completed 10 years ago, is the nearest link to Kathmandu and the outside world. From here, all kinds of articles must be carried by porters to the whole of North-Eastern Nepal.

The main track from Lamasango to Namze Bazar in the Khumbu province, a further six days' walk from Thodung, crosses a pass 2–3 km from the monastery. From the monastery there is a magnificent view to the north towards snow-covered peaks near the Tibetan border, 4–5 days' walk away. The highest among them is Gauri Shankar of 7132 m. To the east can be seen a deep valley approximately 1500 m below the monastery, drained by the Likhu Kosi river. Scattered on the bottom and the slopes of the valley is the village of Bondar—or Chyangma, its name in the Sherpa language. Many localities in Solu have several names as a result of the mixed population living here—Sherpa, Tamang, Jiril, Sunwar, Rai, Gurung, Newari, Chetri and some Indian low-castes. All of these ethnic groups spoke—and partly still speak—their own languages.

Som-den-tho-ling consists of about 23 buildings of which 19 are inhabited and privately owned by the monks. The houses are of different appearance and size, reflecting the economical status of its inmate—or rather that of his family. The head lama's house and three of the monk-houses have two stories, whereas all the other houses have only one story. Only few of them are typical Sherpa houses, the architecture of a Sherpa monastery has—like monasticism—been imported from nearby Tibet.

In the centre of the monastery is the great central kitchen

which provides butter-tea, boiled potatoes, rice and sometimes different kinds of sweets during services in the prayer-hall. Only the tea is paid for by the monastery's funds, the other kinds of food are payment for services on behalf of society as a whole, or sponsored by a single person or a family in order to gain religious merit, heal the sick, bring good luck, or prevent all manner of misfortune.

In front of the prayer-hall there is a chorten of about 3 m in height and $2\frac{1}{2}$ m in diameter. The founder of the monastery, lama Dawa kipa, is buried in this chorten.

In a building just behind the prayer-hall there is a very large prayer-wheel, about 2 m in height and 3 m in diameter, filled with paper rolls on which are written the most common Lamaist prayer "Om mani padme hum". The prayer-wheel is turned by both laymen and monks in order to gain religious merit.

The prayer-hall is the main building; it measures about $15 \times 12 \times 5$ m. The roof, which slopes slightly, is made of flat, roughly hewn slates measuring about $100 \times 20 \times 5$ cm. The walls consist of large stones put together with clay and plastered with yellow-brown lime made from a special kind of clay. The longitudinal direction of the prayer-hall is east-west. It is desirable that the hall be situated on a slope facing east, so as to catch the first rays of the rising sun. Below the hall are store-rooms for the monastery's supply of butter, grain, tea, potatoes, etc. Stone steps lead to the entrance-door at the eastern end of the house, 2 m above ground level. On either side of the door is a prayer-wheel about 30 cm in height. Just inside the door is a hall, the walls of which are covered with colourful paintings illustrating the Lamaist pantheon.

The prayer-hall measures 12×13 m inside, and the walls are covered by wooden panels decorated with colourful paintings of gods and geometrical symbols. There are shelves at the western end where the holy book can be seen—the Kangyur in 108 volumes. In addition there are 15 clay statues representing Buddhas, gods and demons painted in brilliant colours, mainly green, red and yellow.

On the southern side of the hall is an altar, made from wooden shelves, on which are placed 108 butter-lamps, and many small Buddha statuettes made from painted clay, water and rice. The

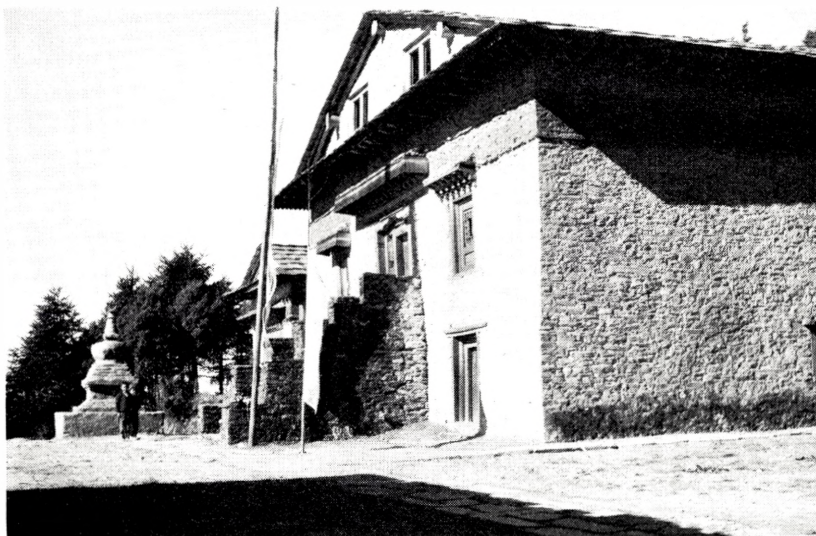


Fig. 15. The monastery of Som-den-tho-ling. In the foreground, the prayer-hall, to the left, a chorten of Tibetan type, and just behind it a house containing a 2 m high prayer-wheel.

rice is shaped into tormas (holy food) like mini-chortens. At the end of the aisle is a kind of throne that is only used when a highly esteemed lama visits the monastery.

The prayer-hall—or lha-khang (God-House)—has only two windows about 1×2 m in size — consequently the room is always dark. The plank ceiling is painted like the panels and supported by six carved and painted wooden pillars.

During services in the lha-khang the monks have fixed places, as well as playing fixed roles in the rituals. They sit cross-legged on low benches behind tables that are only a little higher, on which are placed prayer-books and different ritual implements. The degree of initiation of a monk can be seen from which kind of instrument he plays in the lha-khang. The abbot sits uppermost to the right of the aisle and next to him sit the players of the flute, conch, drum and cymbals. On the left side of the aisle there are the gigantic trumpets and the bone-flutes. Behind the two rows of monks, other monks of lower degree, novices, nuns and laymen sit directly on the floor.

Som-den-tho-ling was founded by a Sherpa lama, Dawa kipa, in 1947. He died two years later, and the monastery was completed

by the present abbot, Ngawang Sherap. The monastery is not exceptionally rich. Its belongings consist of the prayer-hall, all kinds of furniture, the central kitchen, the chorten, the abbot's house and some few acres of uncultivated fields just outside the monastery. The fields are hired out to a Sherpa family, who use them as night quarters for their cattle.

The monks own their houses themselves and the small plots of tilled soil surrounding them. Out of the twenty monk-houses, only the abbot's house and three of the others are built in the typical Sherpa style, i.e. with two stories, firmly constructed of stones and heavy planks. Two of the newest houses are built entirely of planks and boards; the best one cost 2000 Rs—a very large sum in a simple agricultural economy. All the other monk-houses are rather small, the oldest ones look more like houses owned by non-Sherpas. Maybe this is a result of the mixed population living in the area, or that the monks who first joined the monastery were poorer than the present monks.

Normally the houses are divided into two rooms, one being a kitchen with a clay-built fire-place. Although the weather in their homeland is cold during the winter, the Sherpas—and other ethnic groups in North-Eastern Nepal—have oddly enough not learnt to build a chimney. While I was staying in the monastery, my interpreter and I made a covered fire-place with chimney. It was very much admired and called “a machine that is able to separate heat from smoke”.

Like all other houses in Solu, a monk-house is very simply furnished, a few cooking-utensils made of brass in the kitchen, some wooden pots for storing tea, salt and butter. In the other room a low wooden platform, covered with home-spun blankets, serves both as a bed and meditation-seat. In addition we find a low, narrow table, wooden shelves for books, teacups, mortars, clay statues and religious objects such as bell, dorje, rosary and musical instruments. On the walls can be seen block-prints, pictures from magazines and perhaps a *thanka* (religious motive painted on cloth). Finally, there are some wooden boxes for keeping potatoes, grain and millet. Most of the older monk-houses are without ceilings, only having wooden roofs that allow the release of the smoke from the fire-place—and the entrance of wind, rain and snow. Houses of better construction have a shutter above the



Fig. 16. A typical monk-house in Som-den-tho-ling. Stones are placed on the roof in order to hold it down in storms. In the distance, snow-covered peaks near the Tibetan border.

hearth. Meat can often be seen suspended for drying above the fire-place, even in monk-houses, although the Buddhist faith prohibits the eating of meat. The monks defend this practice by saying that they themselves were not the killers of the animals—generally cows—and that the killer is the sinner. However, the meat is often that of animals killed accidentally or by disease. Thus nobody has sinned by slaughtering them.

A monk has to cook his own food, but most of the adult monks have the services of a novice—in Som-den-tho-ling there are 17 monks, 6 nuns, 15–18 novices and 2 mani guminis (old women entering the monastery at a late age without taking the vows of nun). In return for such services as cooking, cleaning the house, carrying water from a nearby spring and wood from the slopes, the novice is taught by the older monk and is allowed to live in his house.

1. Inmates of Som-den-tho-ling

The following description is an extract of a questionnaire containing 21 questions answered by all the inmates, apart from the novices. Of the total number of inmates—17 monks, 6 nuns, 15–18 novices and 2 mani guminis—6 monks and 3 nuns were absent.

1. Ngawang Sherap Lama, abbot of the monastery, 49 years old. He came to Som-den-tho-ling in 1947, and together with his teacher, Dawa Kipa, started the erection of the present monastery. Since 1949 he has been the leader, ranking as Umje, i.e. substitute for the head lama—an incarnation living in Darjeeling. The abbot has spent 6 years in monasteries in Tibet and Darjeeling. Within the Sherpa culture, he is a highly learned man. He is a fully initiated monk (dGe-slong).
2. Shangegimi Lama, 58 years old, is dGe-slong and gerku, which implies that he is responsible for the maintenance of discipline. He became a monk at the age of 22, and has lived at Som-den-tho-ling for 22 years, in Tibet for 7 years, and additionally travelled in India, Sikhim and Bhutan on pilgrimages. Before he became a monk, he was a businessman, buying paper in Solu and exchanging it in West Nepal for dried meat and salt.
3. Lobsang Thondu Lama, 55 years old, dGe-slong and the monastery's nierwa, i.e. in charge of its economic affairs. He became a monk when 25 years old and came to Som-den-tho-ling in 1947.
4. Kipa Lama, 70 years old, dGe-slong. He became a monk at 20 years of age, and has lived at Som-den-tho-ling for the last 17 years. He has stayed in different monasteries and travelled on pilgrimages.
5. Ngawang Lama, 56 years old, dGe-slong. He was born in Bhutan and became a monk when 23 years old. Originally he was a farmer, but due to the fact that he had killed animals, he felt himself a sinner and retired to a monastery. Since then he has roamed the Himalayas on pilgrimages. Though he owns one of the best houses at Som-den-tho-ling, built by himself as he is a skilled carpenter, he seldom

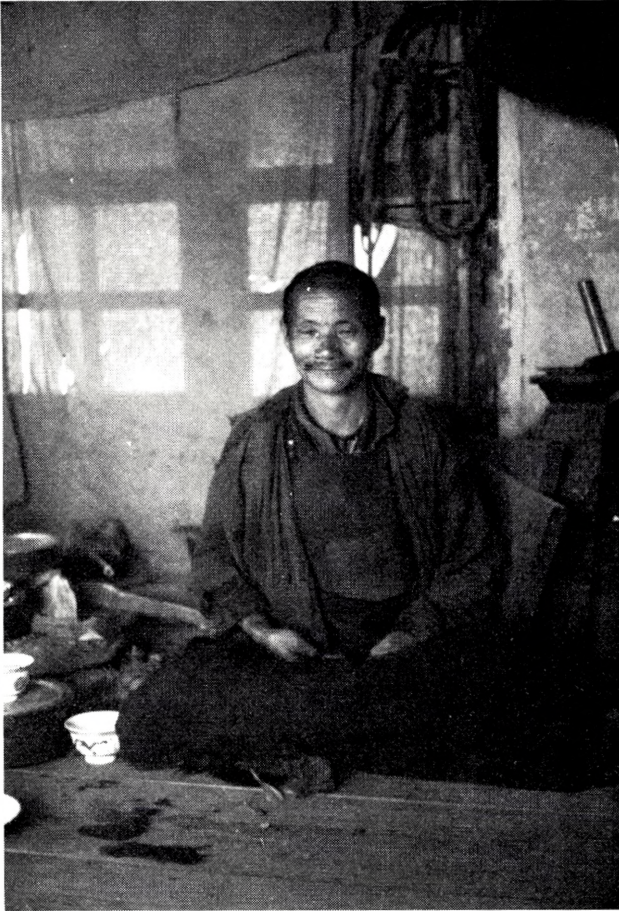


Fig. 17. Ngawang Lama (no. 5) in his house.

lives there. He intended to move to the Shoar monastery, because its abbot is a famous incarnation.

6. Pema Lama, 22 years old, rab-dzung, came to the monastery 14 years ago from Jiri.
7. Sultim Lama, 23 years old, rab-dzung, came to the monastery 14 years ago from Dewrali.
8. Lotu Lama, 18 years old, rab-dzung, came to Som-den-tho-ling 7 years ago from Dewrali.
9. Ngawang Lobsung, 18 years old, rab-dzung, came to the monastery 15 years ago from Jiri.



Fig. 18. Everyday life in Som-den-tho-ling. The layman in the foreground is making ink from bark, the others are cutting the blocks of wood used for producing books. The monks are from the left: No. 6, a Tibetan nun, Nos, 10, 11 and a novice.

10. Angeheli Lama, 22 years old, rab-dzung, came to the monastery 5 years ago from Dungae.
11. Sudje Lama, 22 years old, rab-dzung, came to the monastery 10 years ago from Gardjopti.
12. Ani (nun) Thaktu, 28 years old, rab-dzung-ma, came to the monastery 10 years ago from Dewrali.
13. Ani Kaldun, 47 years old, Tamang and a rab-dzung-ma. She came to Som-den-tho-ling 24 years ago from Dewrali.
14. Ani Siti Angtin Lamani, 30 years old, rab-dzung-ma, came to the monastery 10 years ago from Dewrali.
15. Lamo Lamini, 64 years old. She is a mani gumini and came to Som-den-tho-ling 3 years ago from Dewrali.
16. Bemba Sherpani, 66 years old. She is a mani gumini and came to Som-den-tho-ling 6 years ago from Barad.

Apart from nos. 2 and 5, all the others are natives of villages in the neighbourhood of the monastery. No. 6 is a cousin of the abbot. Nos. 7, 11 and 12 are cousins. The nuns, nos. 12 and 13, are dGe-slong-mas. No. 14 is rab-dzung-ma and sister to the abbot.

It is unusual that a Tamang nun—no. 13—is living in a Sherpa monastery.

Nobody was able to explain the term “mani gumini”. The two old women were allowed to live in the monastery, but had to provide for their own food. No. 14 was married at the age of 15, but as she did not give birth to children, her husband left her. When her father died, her mother was taken over by his younger brother, i.e. levirate does occur among the Solu Sherpas.

No. 15 had no family. Her husband and their four children had died many years previously. She wanted to remain in the monastery for life, devoting herself to religion.

All monks and nuns wished to remain in a monastery for life, living in celibacy.

2. The Internal Organization of the Monastery

A Sherpa monastery is organized according to rules elaborated in Tibetan monasticism. Sherpa monasteries have not created new forms in the structure of organization or liturgy, a fact that may be taken as evidence of cultural and ethnic conformity. The ease with which Tibetan monks and monasteries, founded and run by Tibetans, are absorbed into Sherpa society underlines this assertion.

In Sherpa monasteries monks and nuns usually live together and, on almost equal terms, participate in rituals performed in the prayer-hall and rendered to local society. The nuns, however, take no official positions. In some Nying-ma-pa monasteries monks were allowed to marry, provided that their wives lived outside the monastery. Within the reformed dGe-lugs-pa sect, monks could not marry and had to live in absolute celibacy. The fact that men and women live within the same monastery does not imply that they are allowed to marry. Actually, people of different sexes may not live in the same house unless they are brother and sister, and only when they are monk-nun. Of course, all must live in celibacy. In Som-den-tho-ling the abbot has a sister living in his house, and while I was staying at the monastery Angsjelis' sister moved into her brother's house. She was 25 years old, and her husband had died while in West Bengal. The reason for sending her to the monastery, Angsjeli explained, was that her husband's

brother did not want to marry her because in spite of several years of married life, she had not given birth to children. Women who are not nuns or near relatives to a monk or a nun living permanently in the monastery may not spend the night here.

The rules in force in Som-den-tho-ling were formulated by two esteemed lamas, Dagebu Lama and Shumba Lama, and by the present abbot. In short they are: A monk must not kill any living being or steal. He must not marry, break the vow of celibacy, fight or use bad language, be envious, or harm human-beings and animals. All must co-operate and take part in the services in the prayer-hall, monks must not smoke, drink alcohol or leave the monastery without permission. A woman must not spend the night in a monk's house, unless she is his sister or mother. Above all, Buddha's words are the truth.

If the rules are broken, the case is investigated by the abbot, the gerku and the nierwa. To expiate a minor fault, the offender is ordered to pay a fine to the monastery's funds or to provide tea for all the monks. In serious cases an offender may be beaten—in one case I saw the abbot beat an adult monk.

If a monk or nun violates the vow of celibacy, he or she is expelled from the monastery should the case come to the knowledge of the abbot. Only one case has occurred in Som-den-tho-ling: a monk fled with a woman. Besides expulsion, the offender is fined 200 Rupees, and his/her immovable property within the monastery is confiscated, even the offender's house falls to the monastery. If the offender does not pay the fine, information about his/her crime is—via the monasteries—spread all over the Sherpa country, having the result that the offender is driven out of all Sherpa villages until he has paid the fine.

As previously mentioned, Sherpa monasteries have been uncritically modelled on Tibetan monastic patterns. One cannot point out special features that may be called typical of the Sherpas, not even the monastic architecture or the style of art. The abbot explained that he had organized Som-den-tho-ling as a reflection of his teacher's monastery De-fuk in Tibet. The personal contacts and the total faith in traditions are the driving forces behind Lamaist monasticism, and it spreads by gemmation.

The classes of the monks in Som-den-tho-ling are the following: Gyen-gi (novice), Thawa (monk), Rab-dzung and dGe-slong.



Fig. 19. The Tup-den-tho-ling monastery founded in 1966 by an incarnation who fled from Tibet in 1959. Since the communists took over power in Tibet, Tibetans have made up a considerable number of the clergy in N. E. Nepal.

Not all boys sent to the monastery as novices make a clerical career, some of them only take the vow of *thawa*, and leave the monastery after some learning in reading and ritual matters. Boys normally enter the monastery at the age of 6–10 years. They take no vows, and it is expected that the monk, in whose house the *gyen-gi* lives as a servant, is responsible for the boy.

Later the boy may become a *thawa*, which implies that he must keep the rules, take another name, and have his hair cut. The vow of *thawa* is administered by the abbot and two *dGe-slongs*. Besides promising to keep the monastic rules, the candidate must confirm that he/she has no debts, is unmarried, has not killed a lama, or his/her parents, and the candidate must have no grey hair. Finally, the abbot confers his/her *thawa* name upon the candidate, invests him with a monk's dress, and burns a piece of paper upon which the candidate's previous name is written. The ceremony takes place in the prayer-hall without much solemnity.

The *gyen-gi* takes part in the services in the prayer-hall and is taught to read by the monk in whose house he lives. In return

he must serve him by providing water and wood and perhaps by preparing his food.

After taking the vow of thawa, the boy is regularly examined by the abbot—often when I talked with the abbot in his house several thawas were sitting in the background delivering their lessons. The abbot invariably noticed if they pronounced a word incorrectly.

The rab-dzung vow may only be administered by the abbot and at least two learned lamas. The period of rab-dzung is the time during which the real training is given for a clerical career. While learning the prescribed texts by heart, the rab-dzung must also learn to perform different rituals, make tormas (statues of rice) and play the different instruments used during the services in the prayer-hall: drum, cymbal, flageolet, bone trumpet and the gigantic telescopic trumpets. The rab-dzung has to play the different instruments for two to three years, and his progress in learning may be judged from which instrument he plays. In Som-den-tho-ling all monks who play the instruments and take direct part in the rituals are rab-dzungs or dGe-slongs. They sit in the two first rows in the middle of the prayer-hall, and all others—even the two nuns who are dGe-slong-mas—sit behind, only taking part in the reading of prayers.

dGe-slong, the highest degree, may be obtained after 10–20 years of study and after having been examined by the abbot. The vow of a dGe-slong must be administered by the abbot and at least two other abbots, who visit Som-den-tho-ling once a year.

Two officials are appointed from among the dGe-slongs. The nierwa is responsible for the kitchen and the monastery's stocks of butter, potatoes, tea, grain and other belongings. Moreover he administrates gifts presented to the monastery. Ranking above the nierwa is the gerku, who is responsible for the maintenance of discipline. Both officials are elected for a year at a time, but may be re-elected.

There are a further three officials at the top of the monastic hierarchy: Umje, loben and head-lama. In Som-den-tho-ling the abbot holds the offices of both umje and loben, because a small monastery with little property and not engaged in trade has no need for all these officials. According to the rules, the umje and loben should be elected for a fixed period of time, but the abbot



Fig. 20. Sanggye Tenzing Lama – abbot in the monastery of Seta. He is the first Sherpa to seriously study the history of his people.

in Som-den-tho-ling is not elected, he claims to be the owner of the monastery. He has inherited it from its founder Dawa Kipa on the condition that he may not sell it but only transfer it to his own heir, who—as the abbot may not marry or break the vow of celibacy—cannot be his own son. For which reason, the abbot has adopted two brother-sons, who are expected to succeed him. According to Sherpa standards, the abbot is a well-to-do man, who in addition to his monastic office owns a farm in Bomba. His fields are the best I have seen in Solu and are leased to four tenants. Indeed, it is difficult to investigate the economy of Som-den-tho-ling, and especially to distinguish between the economic affairs of the monastery and those of the abbot.

Officially, Som-den-tho-ling is headed by an incarnation discovered more than twenty years ago. He lives in Darjeeling and has not visited the monastery for many years.

The officials of Som-den-tho-ling do not appear to be men invested with much power, who issue commands and are feared by the inmates. Apart from the abbot, one cannot tell who holds an official position. The gerku and the nierwa are two old men of modest behaviour and much poorer than most of the rabdzungs. Actually, it is very seldom that they have to take action—conventions and patterns of behaviour are so deeply rooted in Sherpa culture that they are seldom abused.

3. Jhangri – A Sherpa Shaman

Besides the monks and village lamas, another religious practitioner must be mentioned—the jhangri, by some called Lhawa (Tibetan, Iha-pa). He is not specific to the Sherpas, and may certainly be traced back to and rooted in a pre-Buddhist shaman cult. In addition to his place in Sherpa culture, the jhangri is found among the Tamangs, Thakalis and Lhomis, i.e. among the Palaeo-Nepalese ethnic groups. The jhangri is easily distinguished from monks and village lamas both in his ideological background and in the methods he uses, even though he has taken over from Lamaist traditions the use of magic spellings and the recitation of Lamaist writings, which he certainly cannot understand. The jhangri is only a religious practitioner according to his methods, not in actual function, which, for all I know, only comprises the healing of illnesses.

I met the local jhangri in the market-place near Chayngma. He is a Sherpa of low-caste status (yemba), which fact he denied—I never met a Sherpa who conceded to being of yemba status. He assured me that he was able to heal all illnesses, because he possessed a special ability to see the evil spirits causing the sickness when he was in a trance, a state of mind he obtains by reciting from holy books and drinking chang (beer). His methods consisted of exorcising the spirits or more often, when he had detected which kind of spirit was causing the illness, he knew which sacrifice must be made. The spirits are driven away by

offering them food—the different spirits must be offered their favourite dishes: Narayan and Nayan prefer hens, Bhimsen the blood of goats, Sanchari goat kids, Bhagwati a meat-dish made of sparrows, and other spirits claim “white food”, i.e. rice.

Besides offering food, the jhangri reads from holy books written in Tibetan. He is assisted in his work by special tutelary deities living in his house, and in serious cases he is able to call 5000 deities to his aid by singing secret hymns.

The jhangri inherited his ability to exorcise evil spirits from his father, and he will be succeeded by his son in turn. He himself had meditated for twelve years in order to establish connection with his tutelary deities. The same was done by his ancestors, and as a reward the deities put power and knowledge at their disposal in order to fight illness and misfortune.

The jhangri pointed out places near Chayngma where deities were living—on peaks, near streams and paths. If people neglected the deities, failed to show respect or provide them with food, they took their revenge by causing illnesses. The methods used by this jhangri differ from those used by other Himalayan shamans. Normally, the spirits are called and speak through the mouth of the shaman during his state of trance, or he himself travels to the world of the spirits in order to be informed of what to do.

The jhangri always uses magic in curing illnesses and never makes or prescribes medicines, which are often manufactured and administered by the monks, who conversely never act as spirit-mediums.

I discussed the jhangri with the abbot, who called the jhangri a primitive and unlearned man without magic powers, and I think this opinion is shared by most high-caste Sherpas. In my group of informants only one high-caste Sherpa preferred to consult a jhangri rather than a monk. It must be kept in mind that not all monks practice healing, this being reserved for a few with special talents in this matter. A cure prescribed by a monk includes prayers and nature medicines manufactured by him. I have observed a service held in the monastery's prayer-hall for the benefit of a young man—son of the village lama in Chayngma—who was lying ill in a hospital in Kathmandu. The village lama did not believe in modern medical knowledge. For the prayers,

in which all the monks took part, he had to pay 60 rupees—a sum only very few people are able to pay.

The reason why the jhangri is mostly consulted by yembas and Indian low-castes is probably because he is cheaper and more in accordance with the primitive mind. According to the abbot, the jhangri frequently discovers that the spirit Bhimsen has caused the illness and he must be offered blood from a goat—the participants in the seance can then eat the meat.

IV. Environment, Patterns of Settlements and Types of House in Solu

The Solu province is situated on the southern slopes of the Himalayas, a fact that dominates the topography of the area. From the High Himalayas, glacial streams have eroded deep valleys, mostly in the direction north-south. The ecological environment and the local climate, dependent on the elevation above sea-level, are the main factors in the economy of the Solu province.

The cultivatable areas in Solu range from about 1500 to about 4000 m above sea-level. The natural flora of the valleys is sub-tropical, comprising a wealth of trees, shrubs and climbing plants. The most common trees are 15–20 m high rhododendrons that gradually decrease in size as the ground rises, to be finally replaced by conifers.

Just as the topography in Solu varies, so does the population, which comprises Sherpa, Jiril, Tamang, Rais, Newari, Gurung, Sunuwar, Chetri and Indian low-caste elements. Traditionally, the Sherpas live on the slopes above an altitude of 3000 m, while the Nepalese groups mainly live in the valleys. This is an oversimplification, because in fact the different ethnic groups often live side by side, but at least one exception may be distinguished—the high-caste Sherpa villages.

The villages of Buludanda, Dewrali, Sete and Junbesi are inhabited by high-caste Sherpas—in Junbesi one Khami lives on the outskirts of the village. The patterns of settlement in pure high-caste villages differ a lot from those in the mixed ones. The houses stand closer together and are of a much more compact appearance. They are all of the same type, and only separated by small fields and kitchen gardens—with nothing to suggest roads or village streets. The same, however, applies to the whole of North-East Nepal.

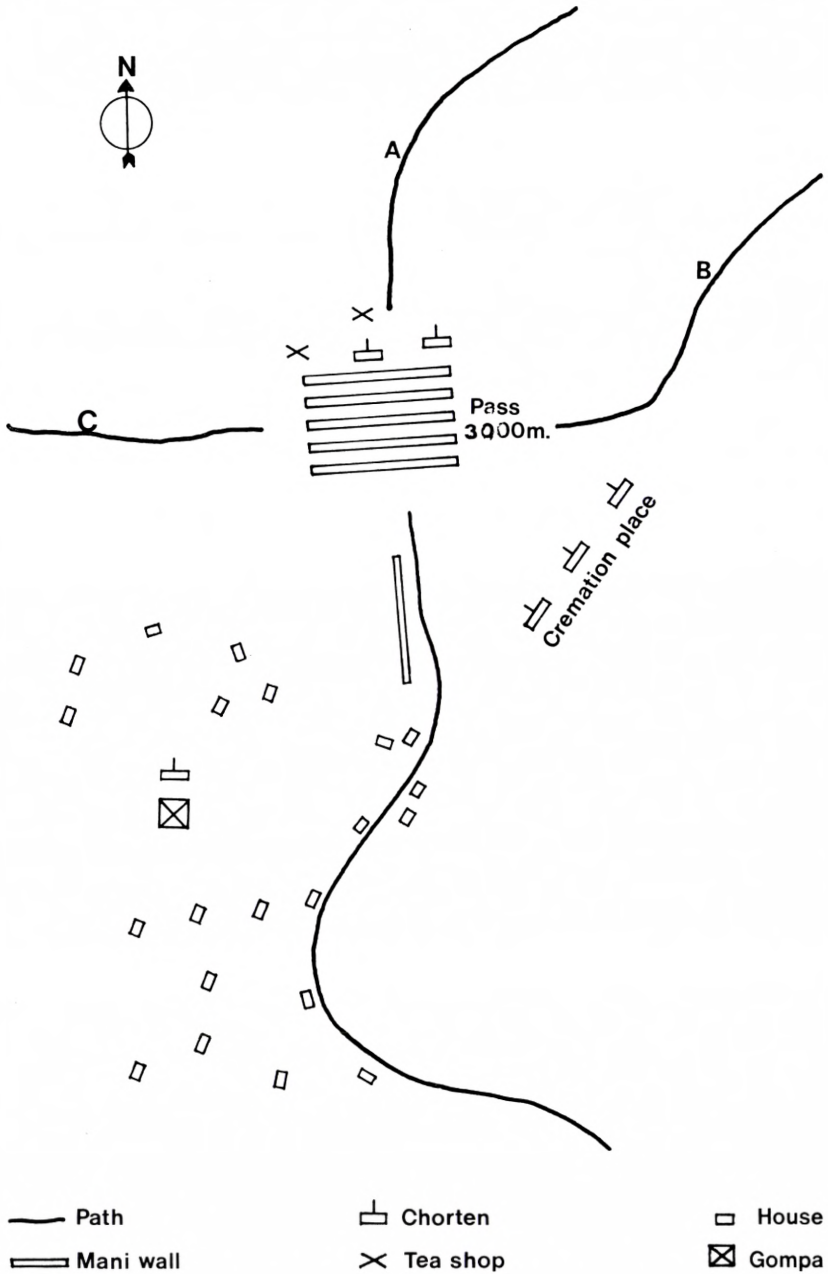


Fig. 21. Sketch map of Dewrali. The village is typical of the pattern of settlement of the high-caste Sherpas. The houses are situated on a slope at an altitude of 3100m, scattered without plan and surrounded by small cultivated fields. A. Path to Som-den-tho-ling, B. To Chayngma. C. To Lamasango.

Dewrali is a typical high-caste Sherpa village comprising 22 houses and situated on a slope about half an hour's walk from a pass through which the main track leads from Lamasango to Namze Bazar.

With respect to patterns of settlement, villages inhabited by the Newari, as for example Lopcheni, look like those of high-caste Sherpas to some extent. In contrast, the mixed villages, including the Sherpa yemba in Jelung, are scattered over considerable areas. For example, Yalung and Sombardanda roughly cover an area of 3–5 km in each direction.

Settlement patterns may be explained in terms of tradition and economy. Before immigration to Solu, the Sherpas and the Newaris traditionally founded compact villages. Moreover, the Sherpa economy mainly rests on cattle breeding. Milk products are the basis of their livelihood with the result that only small fields are necessary for cultivation, but extensive highland pastures are needed. Actually, the Sherpas do own the highland pastures, which makes it possible for them to practise their traditional transhumance. Since a dairy was started in 1956 ownership of the pastures became of special importance, which is seen from the fact that all 42 suppliers of milk to the dairy are Sherpas.

Other ethnic groups in Solu depend by tradition mainly on grain, maize, rice and vegetables, i. e. they need more cultivable land surrounding their houses.

1. Types of House

Four types of house may be distinguished in Solu. The appearance of the house reveals the ethnic group of its owner.

High-caste Sherpa houses are substantial, spacious buildings, consisting of a framework of wooden posts and walls of roughly hewn stones smeared with clay and white-washed. The traditional double-storeyed Sherpa houses are constructed according to a pattern that allows only few variations. The ground floor serves as storeroom and stable for calves, goats and hens. The entrance is broad, framed with solid wooden posts and without a door. From the dark ground floor, wooden stairs lead up to the dwelling room. Next to the entrance is the open hearth, serving

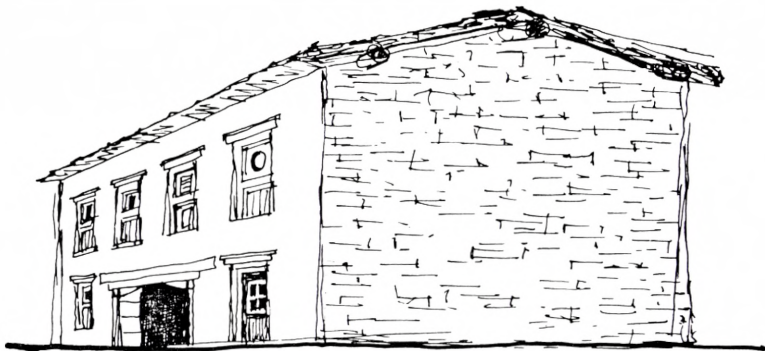


Fig. 22. Typical high-caste Sherpa house in the Solu province.

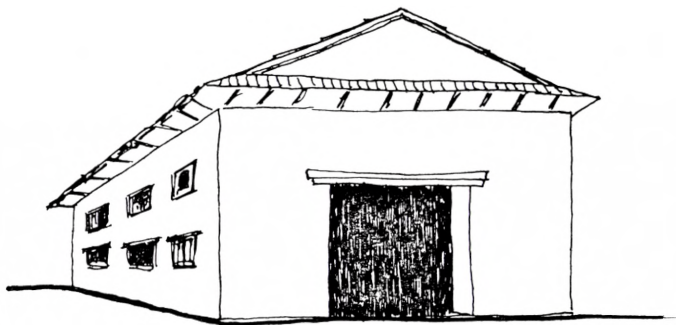


Fig. 23. Yemba house from Yalung. It is a mixture of Sherpa and Tamang styles. The walls are built of stone and clay. The roof is made of one meter long boards. Dimensions are $12 \times 6 \times 5$ meters.

as a cooking place, besides providing a little warmth and light. In spite of the rather cold climate, the Sherpas very seldom make a fire for heating, only when food is to be cooked do they make up the fire by energetically blowing on it.

The room is lit by 3–5 windows at the front of the house. A low bench runs along the front wall below the windows, in front of which stands a low table, on which food is served for male guests and for the men of the house, while women and children eat squatting around the hearth.

The dwelling room is about 10 m long by 5 m broad and without partitions. The floor and the ceiling are made of rough planks. Above the hearth, made from a layer of clay, is a covered

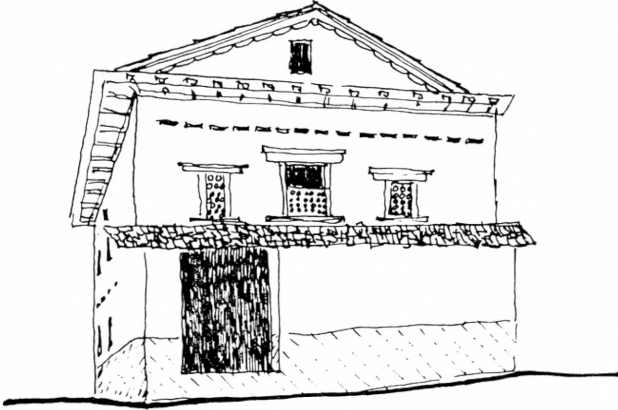


Fig. 24. Tamang house from Djogare Koni. It is mainly built of clay, the windows are small and without frame and glass. The plinth, proportionally high, is brown and the walls are whitewashed. The roof is made of boards, about one meter in length. The entrance is without frame and door. The dimensions of the house are 8×4 meters.

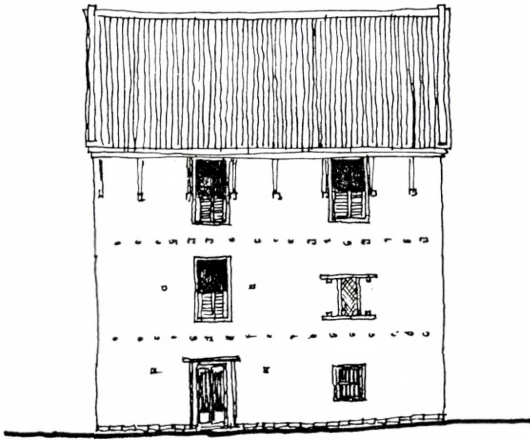


Fig. 25. Newar house. This type is common all over Nepal. It is built of sun-dried clay-bricks and has a tile roof or is thatched. Often the doors and windows have carved frames. Dimensions are $6 \times 5 \times 9$ meters.

aperture through which the smoke disappears, when it is opened—nevertheless, everything is blackened by smoke. At the end of the room stands a large, board bed intended for the married couple. Unmarried people and children sleep on mats around the hearth. In the middle of the room shelves fixed on a wooden post con-

stitute a house altar on which may be seen small Buddha statues, water bowls, butter lamps and perhaps a few books. On carved wooden shelves along the walls stand rows of copper and brass vessels, besides storage chests, big wooden bowls, a butter churn, brass water jugs and different small utensils.

The largest yemba houses are furnished in almost the same way as high-caste houses, but it must be remembered that far from all Sherpas live in well-built houses. Many of them—and most of the yembas—live in small, poorly equipped stone houses. The caste distinction does not only apply to ritual purity, but to a great degree to classes of economy too.

Tamang and Newari houses are rather different from the Sherpa houses, both in appearance and equipment. Their types of house are smaller, mainly built of clay and of a poor appearance. Inside, the furniture is poor, tables and beds are not used. Nepalese and Indian people live more “on the floor” so to speak.

2. Agriculture in Solu

Agriculture in Solu cannot be described in general terms—what kinds of plant are cultivated and their sowing and harvest time depend on the elevation above sea-level, which may range from about 1500 to 4000 m. Not only are there differences in temperature but in precipitation too. This is entirely due to the monsoon, and as rainfall is the result of the cooling down of air, the higher areas have far more rain or snow than the valleys. In the valleys, frost and snow occur in December, January and February, but due to the heat of the sun the snow melts quickly, whereas the highest cultivatable areas remain snow-covered for months. In March, April and May hail-storms are frequent in areas above 2000 m in height, causing serious damage to potatoes, maize and winter wheat. In Yalung I saw the almost ripe wheat partly spoiled by hail at the end of May. In June, July and August the monsoon causes heavy rainfall. September, October and November are the best climatic season. According to the official statistics, 94 per cent. of the Nepalese population is engaged in agriculture. In Solu, apart from some few state-employed officials, all the inhabitants live from agriculture and cattle-breeding. There are only few

possibilities of earning cash—indeed many households have no cash-income. The best chance to earn money is by the sale of milk, but as there are only three dairies in Solu, this possibility is restricted to the areas from where milk may be carried to the dairy. Roughly estimated, one hundred households are suppliers. Cash may also be earned by working as porters, as soldiers in the Nepalese and the Indian armies, and by running small shops, which sell commodities such as kerosene, cigarettes, biscuits, tea, sugar and a few other articles transported by porters from Lama-sango. Finally, a little cash may be earned from selling articles such as salt, fruit, spices, rice, cloth, and other agricultural products in the local market. Market-places, however, play no decisive rôle in the economy of Solu, most people go to market more for social intercourse than for buying or selling.

In Solu one finds no real working-class or large landowners, all cultivate agricultural products for their own consumption. Apart from the Indian craftsman classes, it is very rare that anyone does paid work for others.

The way in which the fields are tilled depends on their size. In southern Solu, where a considerable part of the area is flat country, the plough is common, whereas in Central and Northern Solu, where the fields are small terraces, they are dug by hoe. Certainly the differences in soil preparation are the result of cultural traditions. Ploughing with yoked animals, which prevails in Southern Solu, is of old date in Indian-Nepalese culture, but is an innovation in Sherpa culture.

In Central Solu it is interesting to note that flat country, as for example the valley bottom on which the village of Chayngma is situated, is not tilled but utilized for pasture, while the surrounding slopes are terraced and cultivated. The terraces are small, only 50–200 m² in size, and enclosed by stone fences of one to three meters in height. The terraces must be really level, because the soil will otherwise be washed away by heavy showers during the monsoon.

Irrigation is known and to some degree practised in valleys where water is easily accessible from mountain streams. But elaborate, technical devices are not used, though irrigation could increase the yield considerably. Irrigation is mostly used for rice, which is rarely cultivated by the Sherpas—only in Yalung did I

Sowing and harvesting times

Crop	Sowing	Harvesting
Potatoes	February	July
Wheat	December	May–June
Barley	December	April
Maize	March	August
Millet	June	October
Rice	July	November
Turnips	July	December
Onion	January	May
Garlic, Carrot	July	October
Red pepper	June	September

see yemba Sherpas cultivate rice—even though it is in great demand.

There is only a partial division of labour between men and women. The plough is invariably led by a man, and men construct the new terraces and thresh by flail, but most of the manual work is done by women and children, as, for example, hoeing, carrying agricultural products from the fields, providing fuel and water, weeding the fields, etc. The children take part in the daily work from the age of 5 or 6 years.

Under the circumstances, the people in Solu are skilled farmers, which is proved by the fact that a family is able to produce sufficient food for its own consumption from one to three acres of cultivatable land, plus some few cows or buffalo. Utilization of cow-dung and compost is common, whereas crop rotation is little practised. The same terraces are tilled every year, i. e. the fields do not lie fallow, and because fertilizers are unknown, the yield must be of modest size. To my estimation, one acre of wheat yields 600–700 kg at the best.

The following crops are cultivated in Solu: wheat, barley, maize, millet, rice, potatoes, turnips, garlic, onion, carrot and red pepper. Potatoes are especially important in the daily food and are also exported to Southern Solu in considerable quantities.

These sowing and harvesting-times apply to valleys below an altitude of 3000 m.

Implements used in agriculture are of very simple construction: plough with iron tip, two kinds of hoe, sickle and flail for cutting

and threshing the grain, stone-quern operated by hand and a larger water-mill owned by a village in common. All implements are made by the local blacksmith and generally paid in kind.

3. Cattle-Breeding

Cattle-breeding does not play so important a rôle in Solu as it does in Khumbu, mostly because the land and climate in Solu are more suitable for cultivation, and because non-Sherpas make up the majority of the population. The Nepalese-Indian groups are much more inclined to agriculture than to cattle-breeding. While the non-Sherpas breed buffalo, the Sherpas exclusively breed a hybrid cattle race, the dzum. The choice of a race of cattle, of course, is bound up with the patterns of settlement. The Nepalese-Indian groups live in the valleys, where buffalo yield the best profit, whereas the Sherpas, living on the slopes, prefer the dzum, which, contrary to the buffalo, is able to live on the highland pastures and can stand the cold climate by virtue of its thick coat. Moreover, the Nepalese-Indian groups have no tradition of nomadism—which is necessary if the highland pastures are to be utilized—whereas nomadism is an integral part of the Sherpa way of life.

In the winter—from about December to April—the Sherpas keep the dzums near the village and feed them on leaves and dried corn cobs. The dzums yield no milk during this season. In exceptionally severe winters the animals are driven to lower-lying valleys, but frequently the dzums die of cold and starvation.

From April to December the dzums graze on the highland pastures, but this does not imply that the whole family leaves the village. Normally, only young people and households owning many cattle spend the whole summer on the highland pasture. These pastures are seldom situated more than a half to one day's walk from the village. In particular, since the dairy was started, the Sherpas in Thodung prefer to keep their cows not too far from the dairy.

When on the highland pastures, the Sherpas accompanying the cows live in huts made of branches and bamboo mats. When the herds are driven to new grazing places, the hut is not dis-

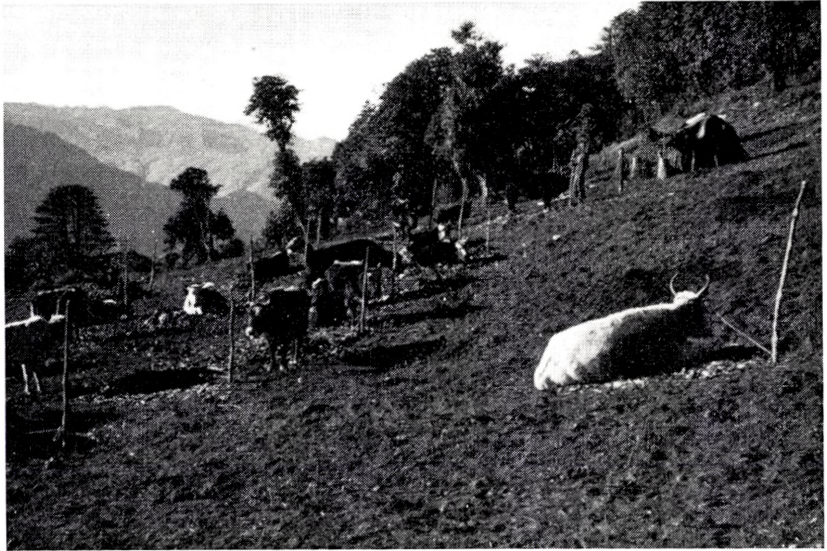


Fig. 26. A herd of cows (dzum) ready for milking. In the background is a hut used by the cattle-owner and his family when staying on the highland pasture.

mantled, only the mats are taken to the new place. The branch framework erected on the different highland pastures is used for several years.

The dzums only yield from three to seven litres of milk a day with a fat content of nine to eleven per cent. Most of the milk is used for making butter, curds and butter-milk. In the Thodung area most of the milk is sold to the dairy for a price of one rupee a litre.

Great quantities of butter are needed for domestic and ritual purposes. It is used as fuel in the butter-lamps lit at home, but primarily it is offered to the village temples and monasteries as fuel for innumerable butter-lamps lit during the course of Buddhist rituals. It is also moulded into various shapes for the decoration of the sacrificial dough figures called *torma* that play an important rôle in ceremonies. In addition, butter stored in wooden boxes is used as a medium for payment.

The Sherpas very seldom slaughter their animals, but they are not averse to eating the meat of cows killed accidentally. Actually, I have not seen or heard of Sherpas who slaughtered cows—as devout Lamaists Sherpas are not supposed to kill any

animal. Nonetheless, I have seen them eat the meat of stillborn calves, and in all Sherpa houses meat is often hung up for drying. In addition to cows, sheep and goats are bred—mostly by Nepalese-Indians. There are a few ponies used not as draught animals, but for riding by well-to-do people.

In Solu, cattle-breeding influences the economy in different ways. With the exception of people selling milk to a dairy, animals are only part of a subsistence economy. Due to the fact that the only form of transport in North-Eastern Nepal is by porter, it is difficult to trade articles to other parts of Nepal, and it should not be forgotten that only few people can afford to buy meat and dairy products.

4. A Development Programme and Ownership of Land

The dairy in Thodung was started as a development programme in 1956 at the initiative of and economically supported by Switzerland. Later on, reception-centres were built in Dewrali and Pike.

According to Western standards, the dairy is of very modest size and equipment, comprising two buildings of the usual Sherpa style and some hand-operated machines. The project employs eleven men in addition to the manager. The dairy produces cheese and butter, which are exclusively exported to Kathmandu by air from Jiri or carried by porters to Lamasango and then forwarded by bus to Kathmandu. The price paid for cheese is 14 rupees per kg and for butter 19 rupees per kg—a price which nobody in Thodung can afford to pay.

The dairy is situated on a peak 3126 m above sea-level. The reason for this elevation is the fact that electric power is unknown in North-Eastern Nepal, and only at this high altitude is the climate sufficiently cool to keep the milk fresh without using a cold-storage plant.

In 1972 the dairy purchased 140000 litres of milk for a price of one rupee a litre from 42 suppliers, who all were high-caste Sherpas, although the Sherpas are all in all a minority in the Thodung area. The reason for the dominance of the Sherpas in exploiting the only real possibility for earning cash is their ownership of the highland pastures, which, according to tradition, they inherited from their ancestors.

My Sherpa informants asserted that both the valleys and the highland pastures really belonged to the Sherpas. When they immigrated to Solu about 700–900 years ago, the land was sparsely populated by the ethnic groups of Rai, Limbu, Sunuwar and Tamang, who were living in the valleys and raised no cattle. The Sherpas cleared and cultivated the slopes, and after the valleys were deserted by the aboriginal population, they took over the valleys too. Actually no Rais or Limbus—and only few Sunuwars and Tamangs—live nowadays in Central and Northern Solu.

According to the official statistics (National Census Part 2 – Kathmandu 1961), 17299 Sunuwars are living in Solu and Western Terai. No historical sources record when the above-mentioned groups left Central Solu, but some old writings testify that Rais occupied parts of the Solu-Khumbu provinces in the past. It may hardly be doubted that the Sherpas drove out the aboriginal population, though nothing in the structure of Sherpa society points to any military organization or to the fact that they were once conquerors. Actually, apart from kukuris and an old flint-lock, I saw no kinds of weapon in Solu, and no Sherpa legends narrate of wars or battles.

Land is owned individually in Solu. This applies to all ethnic groups, but the Sherpas are not the least individualistic in their attitude to the private ownership of property. Even the highland pastures are divided up among the high-caste Sherpas, and they respect one another's ownership. Perhaps the land was once owned by the clan or tribe, which is suggested by the fact that many villages are occupied by one or two clans and that many clan names refer to village names—certainly the original home-place of the different Sherpa clans in Solu-Khumbu.

Since the start of the dairy, the non-Sherpa groups have attempted to drive their cattle to the highland pastures, but have been forced away by the Sherpas. A few years ago the Sherpas had their right to the highland pastures confirmed by the district court in Okaldunga.

According to tradition, the Nepalese-Indian groups immigrated to Solu 400 years ago, certainly from the densely populated Central Nepal and from West Bengal. As the Sherpas mainly made a living from cattle breeding, they only cultivated small fields, a fact that gave space for the immigrating farmers. The

Sherpas accuse the farmers of having taken over the land through deception. Generations ago, the Sherpas hired out the land to the immigrants for a very low rent, consisting of small amounts in kind.

In recent years some Sherpas have vainly claimed the return of their land. The district court in Okaldunga has, however, confirmed the farmers' right to the land, referring to the law which states that a man who has cultivated a plot of land for at least ten years is the legitimate owner. My Sherpa informants asserted that the Chetris and Newaris were aware of this law—but the Sherpas were not.

As owners of the highland pastures, which form the basis for cattle breeding, some of the Sherpa families are gaining economic dominance. In 1972 one supplier sold milk to the dairy for about 12000 rupees, an exceedingly large sum in a society where the cash income—apart from that of the milk sellers—ranges from 0–300 rupees per household. The big milk suppliers also act as money-lenders, charging 25% interest per year, a fact that further strengthens their economic superiority.

5. Yer-chang: A Summer Festival

Yer-chang which means “Summer Beer” is celebrated in the month of Asar and on the day Purnia (July 15th in 1973). The words Asar and Purnia derive from the Nepali language. In Sherpa the date is Thawa-tjanga, i.e. the fifth month according to the Tibetan calender.

The festival is held in a locality named Sher-ding, situated at an elevation of about 4000 m and only one hour's walk from the ruined Sherpa village of Guersa. The area is about 1000 m long and 400 m broad—a meadow originally a lake and totally flat. On the outskirts are six cottages belonging to the Sherpas who own the surrounding highland pastures.

Three days before Purnia four officials, called the Lawas, assemble in Sher-ding in order to decide who may take part in the Yer-chang and how many days the participants—including their families and cows—may stay in Sher-ding. It is always the same 45–50 families who assemble in order to celebrate Yer-chang. Families, who do not own pastures at Sher-ding, are only allowed

to stay for a few days—normally 3–4—otherwise the many cows consume all the grass.

The four Lawas, who always belong to different families, volunteer for this task at the end of the preceding feast. They are under an obligation to plan the feast and to provide food and beer—in return for prestige.

The festival is inaugurated by erecting 45–50 bamboo poles (dhar-ka), one for each of the participating families. The poles are placed in a circle, and some branches must always be left on the top of the poles. The same branches may be seen on poles for prayer-flags—nobody was able to explain what they symbolize. At the top of the pole every family hangs up a pot filled with milk, butter and eggs. In addition, on the first day, a stone altar surmounted by prayer-flags is set up (tarshing).

The village lama in Chayngma is called to perform the religious part of the Yer-chang. The man who invites the lama offers him four mana (10 litres) of chang (beer), and later on he is paid 10–20 rupees. The lama makes a dough, known as pema, from the butter, rice and sugar offered by the participants. The pema is fashioned into tormas (figures) symbolizing yaks and the god Burjung, who is believed to live on a peak above Sher-ding. He is one-eyed and rides on a yak—though the Solu Sherpas do not breed yaks. Certainly, this god is inherited from Tibet. According to Sherpa religion, all places are possessed by local deities, and for this reason Burjung must be worshipped and offered food during the Yer-chang. In return, he allows the Sherpas to utilize the pastures. Moreover, he protects their animals against illness and from being eaten by bears and leopards.

Burjung is connected with the Sher-ding area and not with a special Sherpa clan. All Sherpa clans owning cattle—excluding the yembas—have in the past entered into an alliance with Burjung. This alliance is confirmed and renewed in the Yer-chang. From a functional point of view, he legalizes the Sherpas' ownership of the pastures.

The religious part of the feast is performed on the first day. The village lama recites from the Yer-chang book (Tibetan Lhapsang), which is written in Tibetan, a language the lama is able to read but does not understand. After the recitation, the

tormas are distributed and eaten by all participants. Finally, the cattle are driven close to the altar, and the lama puts dots of butter and salt on their heads, thus indicating that they are under the protection of Burjung.

The following 3–4 days are spent in singing and dancing around the dhar-kas. Large quantities of food and chang are consumed.

V. Patterns of Family Life in Solu

In Solu the family generally consists of husband, wife and their unmarried children. This pattern applies to all ethnic groups, though some differences are to be found both in their attitudes to polygamy and regarding co-operation among close kinsfolk. The Sherpas are considered to be inclined to polyandry, but actually I observed no cases of either polygamy or polyandry among the Sherpas. My informants told me that polyandry was only practised by Tibetans and in some few cases among the Khumbu Sherpas. I have, however, reliable information making it evident that polyandry was not uncommon in Solu one generation ago. Certainly the dislike of polyandry is a trait taken over from the Nepalese-Indian peoples, to whom this form of marriage is abominable. In other respects the Solu-Khumbu Sherpas are influenced by Hindu culture too—for example, with regard to pre-marital relations. According to C. von Fürer Haimendorf (*The Sherpas of Nepal*, London 1964, p. 40), the Khumbu Sherpas have a broad-minded view of casual sex relations—both among married and unmarried people.

All my Sherpa informants asserted that pre-marital sexual relations were a bad thing, and that a girl is despised if she has sexual relations before marriage. In the same way adultery is regarded as “the greatest sin in the world”—in particular if the adulterer is a woman. Adultery is very rare among the Solu Sherpas and it is always punished. One of my informants thought that a female adulterer would commit suicide or her father would kill her. Actually men are fined by the panchayat, or it will order the adulterer to go to the village temple and light butter-lamps for a fixed number of days. The fine of the female adulterer is paid by her father, who in return will beat her. Normally she must leave her husband’s house.



Fig. 27. Gurung girl from Yalung, to where her ancestors immigrated several centuries ago.

The children of a divorced couple are divided between husband and wife and normally the mother takes care of the infants, but later they will move to their father's house. If an unmarried girl gives birth to a child, it is brought up in her parental home, but the child's biological father must pay for its maintenance.

In a divorce the spouses divide the movables, but the land remains the property of the man. Nevertheless, it should be stressed that divorce is very rare, and I have not myself heard of or observed any case.

If a family has no son, the oldest daughter inherits the parental home and remains the owner after marriage. The system of

adopting a son to marry a daughter, which is common in Tibet, is not practised in Solu. If a family is childless, the man's brothers range second as heirs.

The Solu Sherpas' attitude to inheritance is determined by the idea of unrestricted ownership. In principle, a man is allowed to distribute his property as he likes in his will—for example, for religious purposes. On the other hand, there are principles underlining the right of the paternal kin-group that emphasize the latent joint-ownership of land. In fact, many cases concerning inheritance are brought before the city court in Ramenshap, or before the district court in Okaldunga.

Due to the principles concerning the private right of property, and not least due to the fact that not all high-caste Sherpas sell milk to the dairy (the majority is provided by less than ten families), there are considerable differences in income. The differences in wealth tend to strengthen succession by will.

Brothers inherit land from the paternal home on equal terms. When married, they take over their share of land and domestic animals, build a house and set up their own household. Sisters normally inherit movables like jewellery, utensils and money. If the shares of land are too small after a partition, new areas are brought under cultivation from the pastures.

One may wonder why Sherpa villages have not grown larger in size as land is split up among brothers, who build their own houses. In the Thodung area nothing indicates that new villages have been founded in recent times, nor that the old villages have grown larger. The lack of Sherpa expansion is due, I think, to different factors, but mainly to emigration and high infant mortality.

Throughout the last century many Sherpas have served as soldiers in the British army and since 1948 in the Indian army—three of my chief informants had served 12–18 years as soldiers in India. Moreover, many Sherpas have emigrated to the Darjeeling area. According to C. von Fürer Haimendorf (*ibid.* p. 54), 6929 Sherpas are living in the Darjeeling area—compared to about 10000 in North-Eastern Nepal. Within recent decades many Sherpas have found a livelihood in Kathmandu as tradesmen, or working in the service of mountaineers. From my questionnaire completed by the monks in Som-den-tho-ling concerning family

data, it appears that many family members had gone to India in search of work. In many cases the family had no contact with the emigrants. The motivation for emigrating from Solu is the almost total lack of possibilities for earning cash. Due to the absence of factories, there is no alternative to agriculture, which, for the majority, only makes possible an existence just above the subsistence level.

Infant mortality is so high that it largely reduces further expansion. It is a difficult matter to discuss, because the Sherpas consider children to be a gift from the gods, which means that it is a manifestation of the gods' wrath if a woman is barren or if the children of a married couple should die.

The following statistics apply to high-caste Sherpas, except no. 8 which concerns the Khami caste. My informants—who were in some cases the adult brothers of the deceased children—did not always remember the age at which their brothers and sisters had died. Other informants, who were asked the question, refused to reply to it or asserted that none of their children had died. In cases where a couple having, for example, four children aged from one to twenty years told me that they had had no other children, I imagine the information was incorrect. Though of small proportions, I think the statistics are quite reasonable—relating to both Sherpas and other ethnic groups in North-Eastern Nepal.

	Number of children born	of whom died	at the age of
1.	10	4	4, 5, 7, 9 months
2.	8	4	20, 12, 3, 0 years
3.	9	4	0-1 years
4.	18	12	0-3 years
5.	9	9	0-20 years
6.	13	7	2-12 years
7.	5	3	0-1 year
8.	14	6	0-6 years
Total	86	49	
Death rate 57%			

The reasons for this high death rate are lack of hygiene, incorrect diet and the absence of modern medical treatment.

Kinship Terms Used by the Sherpas in Solu

Phabu or phaba	father.
Ama	mother.
Phagaga	father's father, mother's father.
Khyghe	husband.
Bambesa	wife. Actually, a man neither uses this term nor his wife's name, but addresses her as 'ama of' plus the name of their oldest son.
Anga or petsa	junior wife.
Fu	son.
Fum	daughter.
Ajo	elder brother, father's brother's son, husband's sister's son.
Nu	younger brother.
Aye	elder sister, father's brother's daughter.
Num	younger sister.
Nama	son's wife, brother's wife.
Makpa	daughter's husband.
Aku	father's brother, mother's sister's husband.
Ani	father's sister, mother's brother's wife, husband's younger sister.
Thesang	mother's brother.
Uru	mother's sister, mother's brother's daughter, wife's younger sister.
Tsabyung	father's sister's daughter.
Mapin	mother's sister's daughter.
Tsau	father's sister's husband, sister's husband, sister's daughter's husband.
Tsato	wife's sister's husband.
Tsawgom	brother's wife.
Meim	husband's father, wife's father, husband's and wife's elder brother.
Iwoi	husband's mother, wife's mother, husband's and wife's elder sister.
Yaku	husband's younger brother and his younger kinsmen.
Nati	son's son, daughter's son, son's daughter, daughter's daughter.



Fig. 28. Two Sherpa girls. Although half-sisters, they reflect contradictory traits in Sherpa culture. The one to the left is educated and has abandoned the traditional Sherpa dress worn by her half-sister.

The kinship terms of the Solu Sherpas do not reflect or prescribe special behaviour among kinsmen, as is often the case in societies founded on membership of a clan, extended family or caste. In fact, the Solu Sherpas are individualists. The nuclear family is the only co-operating unit in the daily work. Contrary to the sedentary Nepalese-Indian groups, the Sherpas are not embedded in a web of obligations to and need for help from close kinsfolk. The seasonal transhumance—though in Solu this way of life is for the majority more an ideal than a reality—demands self-reliance of the nuclear family. The Sherpas' individualism

may be seen from the pattern of settlement and the principles of inheritance. When a man marries he is expected to set up his own household and take over his part of the land from the parental home. When discussing this matter with the Sherpas they conceded that brothers should help one another, but actually they maintained that the nuclear family stood by itself, responsible to no one and not relying on support from anyone.

Among the Solu Sherpas it is customary for the parents to choose wives for their sons—all my informants, and especially the yembas, asserted that a young man could not refuse to marry a girl chosen by his parents. Certainly the trait is taken over from non-Sherpa groups, where the choice of a spouse is made by the parents alone. In fact, many couples have not met before the wedding. Among the high-caste Sherpas a spouse must be found within the same caste but outside the same clan. Many of the Sherpa clans are dispersed all over North-Eastern Nepal, but irrespective of how far apart they live, intermarrying is regarded as incestuous. If a Sherpa marries outside his caste, he and his offspring are regarded as yemba and excluded from social contact with his own caste.

Addendum

The purpose of the present paper is limited to the publication of some of the material that I collected in Solu, mainly that concerning the Sherpas' own conception of their immigration to Solu, and to describe some old religious structures and the work of a Sherpa monastery. It is outside the scope of the paper to draw any conclusions from the material.

Monasticism, which according to tradition was founded by Buddha about 500 B.C., has mainly been studied from a religious point of view and within an ecclesiastical frame of reference. From an ethnological point of view, it is more relevant to ask the question: "Which psychological preconditions and ideals gave rise to monasticism, and what rôle does it play as a cultural factor?".

The growth of monasticism and monkhood cannot be explained in terms of ascetism—a phenomenon known from all world religions and especially developed in Hinduism, where monasticism is totally absent. The same applies in part to Islam—the brotherhood found here cannot be compared in structure and function to the organized monasticism of Buddhism and Christianity. Of course, ascetism and meditation do play a dominant rôle in monasticism (the name *Som-den-tho-ling* means "a lonely place for religious meditation") and to some degree the monastic life may be regarded as a projection of mankind's spiritual endeavours. The monastery offers a possibility to live a life without manual labour and according to ideals and dogma rooted in Buddhism and Christianity.

Monasticism, however, is not—and certainly has never been— a mere religious institution without the dynamics involved in every organized assembly and without being connected with and influenced by historical events. Monasticism is at one and the same time involved in local society and a component of a far-reaching organization, which, as an integral part of the power structure, has been one of the most significant factors in creating and maintaining the Buddhist and Christian cultures.

Indleveret til Selskabet oktober 1975.
Færdig fra trykkeriet marts 1977.

Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab
 Historisk-filologiske Meddelelser
 Fra bind 37:
 Historisk-filosofiske Meddelelser

Bind 42 (kr. 110.-) alle priser er excl. moms kr.

1. HJELHOLT, HOLGER: British Mediation in the Danish-German Conflict 1848-1850. Part Two. From the November Cabinet until the Peace with Prussia and the London Protocol (the 2nd of July and the 2nd of August 1850). 1966 40.-
2. JONES, SCHUYLER: The Political Organization of the Kam Kafirs. A Preliminary Analysis. 1967..... 16.-
3. BIRKET-SMITH, KAJ: Studies in Circumpacific Culture Relations. I. Potlatch and Feasts of Merit. 1967..... 18.-
4. RUBOW, PAUL V.: Shakespeares Sonetter. 1967..... 12.-
5. RUBOW, PAUL V.: Goldschmidt og Nemesis. 1968..... 24.-

Bind 43 (kr. 135.-)

1. JONES, SCHUYLER: A Bibliography of Nuristan (Kafiristan) and the Kalash Kafirs of Chitral. Part Two. Selected Documents from the Secret and Political Records, 1885-1900. 1969. 50.-
2. ØHRGAARD, PER: C. F. Meyer. Zur Entwicklung seiner Thematik. 1969 30.-
3. PRASSE, KARL-G.: A propos de l'origine de *h* touareg (tāhag-gart). 1969 35.-
4. KÖLLN, HERMAN: Oppositions of Voice in Greek, Slavic, and Baltic. 1969 20.-

Bind 44 (kr. 129.-)

1. BECH, GUNNAR: Das germanische reduplizierte Präteritum. 1969. 14.-
2. KOTWAL, FIROZE M. P.: The Supplementary Texts to the Šāyest nē-šāyest. 1969 60.-
3. ALPERS, KLAUS: Bericht über Stand und Methode der Ausgabe des Etymologicum Genuinum. (Mit einer Ausgabe des Buchstaben Λ). 1969 25.-
4. FAVRHOLDT, DAVID: Bevidsthedsproblemet i Harald Høffdings filosofi. 1969 8.-
5. BECH, GUNNAR: Beiträge zur genetischen idg. Verbalmorphologie. 1971 22.-

Bind 45 (kr. 150.-)

1. HJELHOLT, HOLGER: Great Britain, the Danish-German Conflict and the Danish Succession 1850-1852. From the London Protocol of the Treaty of London (the 2nd of August 1850 and the 8th of May 1852). 1971..... 90.-
2. BIRKET-SMITH, KAJ: Studies in Circumpacific Culture Relations. II. Social Organization. 1971 60.-

Bind 46 (kr. 182.-)

1. STEN, HOLGER: L'emploi des temps en portugais moderne. 1973 90.-
2. BIRKET-SMITH, KAJ: Studies in Circumpacific Culture Relations. III. Sundry Customs and Notions. 1973 32.-
3. HJELHOLT, HOLGER: Arvefølgesag og forfatningsforhold i det danske monarki ved midten af 19. århundrede. Fr. v. Pechlins virksomhed for monarkiets opretholdelse ca. 1845-51. Mit einer deutschen Zusammenfassung. 1973 60.-

Bind 47

(uafsluttet/in preparation)

1. BIRKET-SMITH, KAJ: Studies in Circumpacific Culture Relations. IV. The Double-Headed Serpent. 1973 8.-
2. HANNESTAD, LISE: The Paris Painter, an Etruscan Vase-Painter. 1974 45.-
3. RASMUSSEN, JENS ELMEGÅRD: Haeretica Indogermanica. A Selection of Indo-European and Pre-Indo-European Studies. 1974 35.-
4. HANNESTAD, LISE: The Followers of the Paris Painter. 1976. 110.-
5. HAMMERICH, L. L.: Phil. 2,6 and P. A. Florenskij. 1976..... 20.-
6. STEENSBERG, AXEL: Stone Shares of Ploughing Implements from the Bronze Age of Syria 50.-
7. GULDBERG AXELSEN, HANS: A Preliminary Report Concerning Ethnological Field Research in the Solu District in North East Nepal 70.-

Bind 48

(uafsluttet/in preparation)

1. HENDRIKSEN, HANS: Himachali Studies. Vocabulary. 1976 .. 180.-